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**The Making of  
The British Empire**

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**THE MAKING OF AUSTRALASIA**

IN PREPARATION

THE MAKING OF  
INDIA

BY

A. YUSUF ALI  
M.A., LL.M. (CANTAB.), C.B.E.  
LATE OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

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# THE MAKING OF AUSTRALASIA

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN AND  
DEVELOPMENT *of* THE BRITISH DOMINIONS  
IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC

BY

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FORMERLY RHODES SCHOLAR AND SCHOLAR IN GEOGRAPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF  
OXFORD, NOW OF THE LITERARY STAFF OF "THE SUN," SYDNEY,  
AUSTRALIA

"From the gloom of a world forgotten  
To the light of a world to be."

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## INTRODUCTION

OF all the vast regions opened to European enterprise and settlement after the navigators of Portugal and Spain had burst the bars of ocean, Australia and New Zealand were the last to be occupied and peopled by men of the white race. By the time settlement in Australia entered on its faint beginnings the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in the New World of America were nearly three centuries old. Almost three centuries had passed since the Portuguese had commenced to hold the gorgeous East in fee and very nearly two since the Dutch began to dispute with them the trade of India, China, and the East Indies. Even Great Britain herself, a comparatively late-comer in the field of overseas exploration and settlement, had already gained a great Empire in North America, had in turn lost the better part of it, and had begun to acquire her Indian Empire. The Dutch had been established in South Africa for over two centuries. France, defeated over thirty years before in the struggle for the control of North America and of India, had had some vague idea of finding in the Southern Hemisphere compensation for what she had lost in the north; but nothing came of it.

More remarkable perhaps than the delay in occupying Australasia was the fact that, alone amongst the great overseas divisions of the British Empire, it fell to Great Britain without a struggle. Except in New Zealand, the native inhabitants were quite unable to make any serious or combined efforts at resistance, and no European nation disputed with Great Britain the possession of these lands away at the world's end. France showed a keen interest in Australia, and a long-forgotten French navigator actually took formal possession at a point on the western

## INTRODUCTION

coast of Australia sixteen years before the arrival in the east of the First Fleet. But he made no attempt to follow this up, and in the early days of the settlement when France and Britain were at war the British control of the sea was a sufficient defence for the infant colony.

Yet Australia, unlike America, is not separated from the Old World by a wide and almost islandless ocean. A comparatively narrow belt of tropic seas, studded with countless islands, large and small, separates northern Australia from south-eastern Asia. Yet the unique fauna and flora abounding in archaic forms, extinct everywhere else in the world, show that Australia has been isolated from a very early period in the world's history. It alone possesses in the monotremes—those egg-laying mammals the platypus and the echidna—a missing link between the birds and reptiles on the one hand and the mammals on the other. Except for a few species in America its marsupials, a primitive type of mammals, are represented elsewhere in the rest of the world by fossil species only. New Zealand lacked even marsupials, and, save for a few apparently modern introductions such as rats, was without land mammals of any kind except bats.

The native inhabitants of Australia were also of a very primitive type and had lived in isolation for long ages. They had never left the Age of Stone, had no cultivated plants or domestic animals, with the possible and partial exception of the dingo or native dog, and their arts and crafts were of a type peculiar to themselves. The bow and arrow, almost universal amongst savages, were unknown to them. Yet they had evolved an ingenious instrument used as a spear thrower and a very remarkable weapon, the boomerang, a curved piece of wood, which has the strange property of returning to the thrower. The Maoris of New Zealand, though also in the Stone Age, were far more advanced and were comparatively recent immigrants from the more northerly islands of the Pacific. But this and other migrations amongst the Pacific peoples had left Australia quite untouched.

It was into this lost world that the first British settlers

stepped in 1788. Ever since that date the indigenous animals, from man downward, have been fighting a losing battle against the invaders. Even in the plant world the immigrants have become the dominant type over large areas. The aboriginal inhabitants are practically extinct over a large part of the Australian continent, and at the present rate of decrease it will not be long before they vanish altogether as a pure race, except perhaps in a few remote and inaccessible parts of the arid interior. Some species of animals are within measurable distance of extinction, and if the present processes go on unchecked the same fate will overtake many others in the not very distant future.

Some of the changes which have followed settlement were inevitable; too many are due to carelessness, greed, and indifference. On the credit side is the fact that in less than a century and a half there has been built up in Australasia a solidly British community—far more British in blood than any outside the British Islands—of nearly 6,000,000 people. This means, however, a population of under two to the square mile, or lower than is found on any equal area in the habitable globe. The external trade, both imports and exports, is the highest in the world per head of population. Australia leads the world in the production of wool, and occupies an important place as a producer of meat, wheat, butter, and gold and other minerals. It possesses vast resources in coal and iron ore, the latter worked so far on a comparatively small scale. Its fisheries are but little developed, but offer great possibilities. Australia produces about 90 per cent. of the world's output of pearl shell. Its timber resources, if properly conserved and developed, might be made of immense and lasting importance, for both Australia and New Zealand possess many species of timber of great value. By virtue of its strategic position, flanking the western gateway into the Pacific, the ocean of the future, Australasia seems destined to play a great part in history. But marvellous as its progress in population and prosperity has been during the comparatively brief period since its settlement began, much has yet to

be done before the position of the British race in this continent and the adjacent islands is consolidated and secured.

This book is an effort to give a brief but accurate account of the winning and making of Australasia. It may seem that a disproportionate amount of space has been given to the earlier history of Australia. For this there are several reasons. A good deal of new material bearing on the early periods of settlement and of the events that preceded settlement has only recently been made available. The fact that the French took formal possession of part of Australia, for instance, has appeared in no previous history. Then, apart from the special interest that attaches to the beginnings of development, the early days present very much of historical interest. What may be called the middle period of Australian history is comparatively featureless except to the specialist. It was a time of peaceful progress and development. Except for the story of exploration and for one or two outstanding events there is not much of it to be said in a general history. In some of the colonies important constitutional questions were raised and dealt with, but in a work of this kind it is impossible to treat of these in detail.

With the years 1914–1918 the case is different. Australia was then drawn into the main stream of world events, and the years of war were crowded with happenings of great magnitude. An attempt has been made to sketch the main outlines of this period, and to indicate the changes in outlook which they caused. But to attempt to deal in detail with the war efforts of Australia would be outside the scope of this book. To treat the matter fully and in its proper perspective it would be necessary to give something like a new history of the war.

The central fact to be borne in mind is that the war and the after-events have meant a complete readjustment of the relations of Australia. In a sense it has almost meant to Australia what the visit of Commodore Perry's fleet meant to Japan. Until Federation was accomplished, Australia, speaking generally, had no foreign relations. It was not closed to trade and intercourse, but politically

it was almost a hermit continent. This was somewhat modified with the coming of Federation, but it was the war which brought a full realisation of the fact that since Australia was founded distances had practically ceased to exist, and that even the remotest corners of the world were no longer isolated. The finding of gold and the coming of steamships wrought one revolution about the middle of the nineteenth century. Another and a greater revolution came to pass in the early years of the twentieth. That its effects will be far-reaching we know; no one can yet predict exactly what form they will take.

SYDNEY,  
AUSTRALIA,  
*October, 1921.*

## CORRIGENDA

Page 5, line 1 and margin, *for "1543," read "1503."*  
Page 71, line 12, *for "Bremen," read "Barren."*  
Page 92, line 20, *for "Blaxland," read "Blaxcell."*  
Page 124, line 17, *for "Wills," read "Mills."*  
Page 187, line 29, *delete "two."*  
Page 201, line 25, *for "1801," read "1861."*



## CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
INTRODUCTION - - - - -	V
I. PUTTING AUSTRALIA ON THE MAP - - - - -	I
II. FRANCE AND ENGLAND IN THE SOUTH - - - - -	20
III. BEGINNINGS OF SETTLEMENT - - - - -	27
IV. AUSTRALIA AS A CONVICT COLONY - - - - -	49
V. EARLY EXPLORATION AND DEVELOPMENT - - - - -	60
VI. OCCUPATION OF TASMANIA AND THE PORT PHILLIP FAILURE - - - - -	79
VII. MACQUARIE, THE NATION BUILDER - - - - -	89
VIII. COLONISTS, CONVICTS, AND ABORIGINES - - - - -	102
IX. NEW SETTLEMENTS AND THE OPENING OF THE INTERIOR - - - - -	113
X. FROM VAN DIEMEN'S LAND TO VICTORIA - - - - -	124
XI. THE WINNING OF THE WEST - - - - -	136
XII. FOUNDATION AND GROWTH OF VICTORIA - - - - -	141
XIII. THE COLONY OF A THEORY - - - - -	148
XIV. OLD NEW ZEALAND - - - - -	156
XV. LAND, LABOUR, AND THE PASTORAL INDUSTRY - - - - -	177
XVI. THE GOLDEN AGE - - - - -	189
XVII. COMMUNICATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT - - - - -	198
XVIII. AUSTRALIA AND THE PACIFIC - - - - -	209
XIX. FEDERATION - - - - -	212
XX. THE WAR AGAINST GERMANY - - - - -	221
XXI. NEW ZEALAND'S LATER GROWTH - - - - -	243
XXII. SOME FINAL CONSIDERATIONS - - - - -	251

## MAPS

		PAGE
THE EARLY HISTORY OF AUSTRALIA	-	<i>facing</i> <b>I</b>
NEW ZEALAND (TASMANIA INSET)	-	,, <b>78</b>
AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND	-	,, <b>176</b>





TO ACCOMPANY "THE MAKING OF AUSTRALASIA," BY THOMAS DUNBAIN, B.A. (A. & C. BLACK, LTD., LONDON.)

# THE MAKING OF AUSTRALASIA

## CHAPTER I

### PUTTING AUSTRALIA ON THE MAP

PHRASES like the "discovery of America" or the "discovery of Australia" are responsible for many misconceptions. They give the impression that some discoverer draws aside a curtain and reveals the outlines of the continent much as geographers know them now. Continents are not discovered in that way. Some navigator blunders on a bit of coast here, another skirts a stretch of shore there. Gradually, with many mistakes, many false starts, and most extraordinary errors, a rough knowledge of the true outlines is built up. The process was far slower in the case of Australia than in that of America. After Columbus had, without knowing it, found the New World while trying to find a new way to the Old World of Asia, there was something like a regular and systematic exploration of the continent which his voyage had revealed. Within half a century the greater part of both North and South America was known in rough outline. With Australia lying almost at the antipodes of Western Europe and secluded in the vast recesses of the Southern Ocean, the position was far otherwise.

Until Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and crossed the Indian Ocean to Southern India in 1497 all the oceans but the Atlantic were unknown and unsailed seas to European navigators. In 1520 Ferdinand Magellan entered the Pacific through the Straits that bear his name, and opened to European navigation another and a far greater ocean than the Indian. Magellan led the way into

1520

the ocean that washes the eastern shores of Australia, just as Vasco da Gama had pioneered, twenty-three years before, the navigation of the ocean that extends to the western shores of the continent.

*Approaches  
to Australia.*

The discovery of Australia was now only a matter of time, and from the very nature of things it was far more likely to come from the west or the north than from the east. Eastward the whole breadth of the South Pacific lay between Australia and the west coast of South America, on which the Spaniards established themselves in the sixteenth century. It is not an empty ocean, but the groups of islands which stud it offered no attractions to equal those of the spice islands of the East Indies. These were the magnet which drew the Spaniards across the Pacific, and their route lay so far to the northward that they would have to be driven far out of their course to come anywhere near Australia. Southward lay a stormy sea with scarcely an island, and beyond that the Antarctic ice. But on the north the sea between the northern coast of Australia and the south-eastern peninsula of Asia is full of islands great and small; and amongst them are those spice islands which had so powerful an influence in attracting the Portuguese, and, after them, the navigators of other European nations, to the eastern seas. Once there they were led on "from island unto island at the gateways of the day" almost to the threshold of Australia. Apart from that, once voyagers to the East Indies had learnt to take a short course across the open ocean after leaving the Cape of Good Hope, instead of creeping up the east coast of Africa before turning eastward, the very direction of the winds and the set of the currents were bound to bring them sooner or later to the western coast of Australia. There was no similar influence at work on the eastern side of Australia. The Spaniards, indeed, made voyages from the American side of the Pacific to the East Indies, following in the track of Magellan, but their route lay far to the north-east of Australia.

*Asiatic  
Navigators.*

As far as Asiatic navigation is concerned, there is no definite evidence that the Chinese, the Indians, the Arabs,

c. 1290

—

or any of the nations of the mainland of Asia had ever reached any part of Australia. Kublai Khan, the Mongol Emperor of China, is said to have sent a fleet to Borneo in the thirteenth century, but Borneo is a long way from Australia. It is hard to read into Marco Polo's account of the lands beyond the Equator any reflection of a knowledge of Australia. The Hindus reached Java very early in the Christian era, if not before it, and founded there an Empire which attained a remarkably high degree of civilisation, and was not finally overthrown by the Mahomedans till towards the end of the fifteenth century. Hindu influence is discernible in some of the islands near Java, and possibly in Timor. Java is but four days' steam, under modern conditions, from ports on the north-west of Australia, and Timor is not 400 miles from the nearest point on the Australian coast. But there is nothing to show that the Hindus knew anything of Australia. In the Middle Ages the Arabs or "Moors" invaded Java, where the Hindu kingdom was finally overthrown in 1478. The Arabs penetrated further to the eastward, even to the western coasts of New Guinea, but appear not to have visited Australia.

For a long time past the Malays from the Celebes had *Malays on Australian Coast.* been accustomed to make voyages to the north coast of Australia, from Bowen Straits to the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria, in search of trepang and other sea-spoil; but how early these voyages began it is impossible to say. In 1802 Flinders found a fleet of *praus* from Macassar at anchor in Malay Roads, and the custom of making regular fishing voyages to the Australian coast was then one of long standing. It may well have been in force for centuries. Traces of Malay blood and influence are discernible, according to many observers, in the aboriginal tribes along the northern coasts of Australia. The Malays do not seem, however, to have ever sought to settle in the country; they had merely temporary camps for the drying and preparing of the trepang and other products obtained along the coast. They came down with the north-west monsoon and returned with the south-east.

1511

*The Dawn  
of Dis-  
covery.*

The first Europeans to navigate the eastern seas were the Portuguese. Very soon after the sixteenth century had opened they were in the Moluccas at no great distance from the north-west corner of Australia. In 1511 Abreu even reached the western end of New Guinea. There are good reasons for supposing that a Portuguese navigator or navigators did, either by accident or design, reach Australia within the next quarter of a century.

It is probably from Portuguese sources that the information was derived which led to the representation on certain French and other maps of the sixteenth century of a land mass which does not seem to be the "terra incognita" which many map-makers of the day used to put in the Southern Hemisphere merely for the sake of symmetry. It indicates a knowledge, imperfect and fragmentary, but based on a real discovery of parts of the Australian coast. In a French map of 1542 this land appears under the name of Jave la Grande or Great Java. In this some of the names appear to be imperfect transliterations from a Portuguese original. The most remarkable thing about this map is that, allowing for distortions and mistakes, it shows that before 1542 the Portuguese or some one else had obtained a very fair notion of the east coast of Australia from Cape York to the extreme south-eastern corner of the continent. The north and west coasts, which on the face of it might be expected to be better known, are not nearly so well drawn. The southern half of the west coast is a mere straight line. No attempt has been made to show the southern coast. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that some navigator or navigators had sailed along the northern and eastern coasts of Australia before 1542, but when or by whom the voyage was made there is nothing to show. It may be that hidden away somewhere in Portugal, or possibly in Spain, there is some evidence on the subject.

It may be mentioned in passing that early in the eighteenth century a legend, which has sometimes been revived since, was current in France to the effect that De Gonnevile, a Norman sailor, had reached Australia in

*De  
Gonneville  
Legend.*

1543. A French writer, Bernard de la Harpe, disposed of this in 1738 by pointing out the impossibilities involved in the received account of De Gonneville's voyage. It is probable that if the story has any basis of fact De Gonneville reached Madagascar.

1543

But if the Portuguese were the true discoverers of Australia, *Portugal and Spain.* as seems almost certain, they made no boast of the fact. For this there was a very good reason. By discovering the all-sea route to India the Portuguese had gained a monopoly of the spice trade and the other trade of the East. They imported to Europe, much to their own profit, the goods which before had been brought overland to the Mediterranean and distributed throughout Western Europe by the Venetians, Genoese, and others.

The Portuguese jealously kept to themselves as long as they could all this trade and all information bearing upon it. In those early days their greatest and in fact their only rivals were their nearest neighbours, the Spaniards. Even before Vasco da Gama found the right way to India Christopher Columbus, sailing in the service of Spain, took the wrong way and stumbled on America. Incidentally Cabral, the Portuguese, reached Brazil in 1502 on the second Portuguese voyage to the Indies, and would assuredly have discovered South America if Columbus had never been born. But even the possession of the New World failed to cause the Spaniards to cease their efforts to reach the East Indies and secure the trade of the lands of spices. Their interests were bound to clash sooner or later with those of Portugal. Pope Alexander VI. attempted to prevent the inevitable conflict by his Bull of 1493, which gave to the Portuguese all discoveries east of a certain meridian, and to the Spaniards all that lay to the west of that line. By mutual agreement Spain and Portugal a little later fixed on a meridian 370 miles west of the Cape Verde Islands as the line of demarcation.

But the agreement broke down both in the east and in the west. As the result of Cabral's discovery the Portuguese claimed Brazil and thus infringed Spain's monopoly of the New World. And when Magellan in 1520 "sailed the west

*Rivalry in Spice Trade.*

1512

into the east " Spain found that after all America did not stretch completely athwart the western route to the Indies. The Portuguese had reached the Moluccas, one of the great centres of the spice trade, in 1512; but ten years later the companions of Magellan appeared in this region. The Spaniards contended that the Moluccas and other islands in those seas were on their side of the line of division; the Portuguese as stoutly contended the opposite. Eventually the Portuguese kept the Moluccas and paid a certain sum in satisfaction of the Spanish claim. But during the sixteenth century the Spaniards established themselves in the Philippines. They made, too, many voyages of discovery across the Pacific, some of which brought them very close to Australia. It was no wonder, therefore, that if the Portuguese did discover parts of Australia they did not proclaim their discoveries to the world. Their general policy was one of secrecy. Like the Dutch after them, they strictly forbade their pilots to give information to any foreigner about the route taken by their vessels on the voyage to the East Indies.

*Spanish  
Voyages in  
Pacific.*

Magellan's great voyage round the world was made from Spain, but within ten years of his expedition the Spaniards had found a nearer base for their Pacific explorations on the western coast of America. As early as 1513 Balboa had crossed the Isthmus of Panama and reached the Pacific. But it was the conquest of Mexico by Cortes that enabled the Spaniards to fit out an expedition to sail across the Pacific. In 1526 Saavedra sailed from Mexico to seek the Indies. He reached the Moluccas, where he found the Portuguese already established, and after extensive voyagings in the East Indies returned to Mexico in 1529. Saavedra explored some parts of the New Guinea coast, but kept to the side remote from Australia. In 1528 another Spaniard, Meneses, sailed along the north coast of New Guinea; and other Spanish navigators of whom little is known crossed the Pacific and cruised amongst the islands to the north of Australia. Since they were aiming at the spice islands on or about the Equator, they would have to be driven very far out of their course to reach Australia, particularly when

they came from Mexico. With the Spanish occupation of the Philippines began a regular trade across the Pacific from Acapulco in Mexico to Manila, but the route of these galleons lay far from Australia.

But the Spaniards dreamed also of gold and rich lands in the unknown southern seas, and from time to time expeditions were fitted out in Peru to seek for new lands south of the Equator. In 1567 Alvaro de Mendana, sailing from Callao, discovered the Solomon Islands to the north-east of Australia. He found gold there, and named the islands after Solomon "to the intent that the Spaniards, supposing these to be the islands from which Solomon obtained the gold for his Temple, might be the more anxious to possess them." It is quite likely that Mendana really supposed this to be the land of Ophir. Mendana thought that he had found, not a group of islands, but a part of the great southern continent, and conjectured that the island of Guadalcanaar, which he coasted for many leagues, might be part of a continent joined to the land on the southern side of the Strait of Magellan.

Twenty-eight years later, in 1595, Mendana sailed again from Peru with the object of founding a Spanish colony in the Solomons. On this voyage he discovered the Marquesas Islands, far away to the eastward, and reached the Santa Cruz group to the north-east of the Solomons. There he died, and the expedition never reached the Solomons.

So at the opening of the seventeenth century Australia "*Fifth Part of the World.*" was still undiscovered except for the fragmentary knowledge which some unknown Portuguese navigators appear to have gained of it early in the sixteenth century. The ideas regarding it current amongst those who were unusually well informed were summed up in 1598 by Cornelius Wytfliet, a Flemish geographer:

"The Australis Terra is the most southern of all lands, and is separated from New Guinea by a narrow strait. Its shores are hitherto but little known since after one voyage and another that route has been deserted, and the country is seldom visited unless sailors have been driven

1606

there by storms. The Australis Terra begins at two or three degrees from the Equator and is maintained by some to be of so great an extent that if it were thoroughly explored it would be regarded as a fifth part of the world."

In his knowledge of the division of Australia from New Guinea by a narrow strait, Wytfliet was in advance of those who supplied the information for the French map of 1542. This statement indicates that some unknown navigator had anticipated the discovery made by Torres eight years later. Apart from that his vague references show little improvement on the indications given in the map of 1542.

*Beginning  
of a  
New Era.*

The year 1606 marks the end of the first era in the exploration of Australia and the beginning of the second. Early in that year the last Spanish expedition to visit Australasian waters for nearly two centuries, and the first Dutch vessel to appear on the scene, were in the Torres Strait region. With the coming of the Dutch we are on firmer ground, for the Dutch were destined within the next half-century to trace more than half the coast-line of Australia, and to prove that it was not connected with the supposed great southland extending southward to the Pole and south-eastward to the lands south of the Strait of Magellan. From this time on, too, we have to do with navigators whose names are known and with voyages of which some record has been preserved, not with hints and guess-work and probabilities. Australia, "the last sea-thing dredged by Sailor Time from space," was to be brought at last out of the realm of fancy and of half-forgotten, vaguely known things.

*Voyage of  
De Quiros.*

Before beginning the history of the Dutch discoveries the last of the great Spanish voyages may be briefly described. Amongst the officers who sailed with Mendana on his unlucky voyage of 1595 was Pedro Fernandez De Quiros. He is said, by the way, to have been of Portuguese origin, like his great forerunner in the Spanish service, Ferdinand Magellan. De Quiros was one of those who believed that there was a great southern continent stretching away southward and eastward from the Solomon Islands. He believed, too, that this unknown land would yield gold and silver and other

desirable products in abundance and might prove as valuable to Spain as her possessions in America. He was commissioned by the king to lead an expedition to found a colony in the lands discovered by Mendana and to explore the supposed continent.

On December 21, 1605, De Quiros sailed with three vessels from Callao. They held on their course till they reached the island of Espiritu Santo in the group now called the New Hebrides. Here De Quiros' crew got out of hand and grew mutinous. The land that they had reached was inhabited by black savages who fought stoutly against them, and they could see little prospect of finding the land of Ophir. It appears that the crew of De Quiros' own vessel mutinied and compelled him to return. His flagship slipped out of the harbour in which the vessels were lying and eventually reached Peru again. The other two vessels, commanded by Luis de Torres, were left behind.

In spite of the opposition of many of his men Torres, *Discovery of Torres Strait.* who was made of sterner stuff than his leader, refused to turn back. He soon satisfied himself that the island of Espiritu Santo was not the beginning of a new continent, and that the great southland must be sought elsewhere. So he sailed westward till he made a landfall on the southeastern coast of New Guinea. There he worked westward through the strait which still bears his name. He probably sighted the hills at the tip of Cape York Peninsula, the most northern point of Australia, but he took them for but one more group of islands. After successfully threading his way through the intricacies of the strait, still one of the most difficult waters in the world to navigate, and taking on board twenty of the islanders of the strait in the hope of getting information from them, Torres rounded the western end of New Guinea and eventually reached Manila. This discovery of Torres Strait attracted little attention in Spain itself and remained apparently unknown to other European nations till the English took Manila in 1762 and found in the archives there a copy of Torres' letter to the King of Spain describing his voyage.

De Quiros still maintained on his return to America that

1605

*Austria-*

he had reached the great southern continent. He gave to "all this region as far south as the Pole" the name of "Austrialia del Espiritu Santo." The name Austrialia was a punning title intended to pay a compliment to Philip III., who was a member of the House of Austria, and at the same time to make it clear that this new continent was a southern land. He urged that the new land should be colonised. But the days of Spanish activity in the South Seas were over. Not till the great voyage of Malaspina, who visited Sydney in 1793, did another Spanish vessel, as far as our knowledge goes, approach so closely to the coast of Australia as Torres had done.

*Iberian  
Monopoly  
Challenged.*

It was almost exactly a century after the voyage of Vasco da Gama to India that the Dutch began to challenge the Portuguese monopoly of the Eastern trade. Up to that time they had been content to act as the intermediaries, distributing over the countries of north-western Europe the goods which the Portuguese brought from the East to Lisbon. The change was due to two factors—first, the revolt of the Netherlands against Philip II. of Spain; and secondly, his acquisition of Portugal, by which her trade and colonies were exposed to the attacks of his enemies the Dutch. The revolt in the Low Countries was primarily due to the spread of Protestantism, which the Spaniards set themselves to extirpate with fire and sword. Mixed with religious motives was the desire of the Dutch for civil liberty. In the southern provinces, the modern Belgium, the might of Spain eventually prevailed; in the north the Dutch successfully defied Philip, largely owing to their strength at sea. The long war with Spain made them rich and powerful, for it enabled the "beggars of the sea" to break through the Iberian monopoly of the New World and of Eastern trade. This process was greatly accelerated by the fact that in 1580 Portugal, with her vast trade, her world-wide commerce, and her control of the trade with India and the East, had fallen under the yoke of Spain, to undergo a "captivity" which lasted eighty years.

*Dutch in  
the Eastern  
Trade.*

Philip saw in his seizure of Portugal a means of attacking the carrying trade of the Dutch, and in 1584 he closed

the port of Lisbon against them. But by doing this he only forced the Dutch to enter into the Eastern trade themselves and obtain from their source the spices and goods which they had formerly brought from Lisbon. Many Portuguese considered, indeed, that the Spaniards were not altogether ill-pleased to see the possessions and the trade of Portugal bear the brunt of the Dutch attack. After one or two vain attempts to find a passage to the Eastern seas round the north of Europe and Asia, in the course of which they discovered Novaya Zembla and Spitzbergen, the Dutch fairly entered into direct competition with the Portuguese, using the route pioneered by Vasco da Gama. There were men in Holland who had served in Portuguese vessels; Cornelius Houtman, the Commander of the first Dutch fleet to sail to the East, had actually been a pilot in the Portuguese Eastern trade.

It was in 1595 that the first Dutch expedition, consisting of four ships, sailed from Amsterdam for the East, and within eleven years from that date the Dutch exploration of the Australian coast had actually begun. The four ships under Houtman visited Java and the Moluccas and returned richly laden in 1597. From that time on the Dutch rapidly elbowed the Portuguese out of much of the trade of the East, establishing themselves strongly in Java, the Moluccas, and elsewhere. It was just at this time that the English first entered the Eastern trade, for the East India Company was formed in 1603. But for many years the English played a very secondary part in the Eastern seas.

The first essay of the Dutch at exploring the Australian coast brought them within an ace of anticipating the discovery of Torres Strait. Had they succeeded, the exploration of the east coast of Australia would no doubt have followed at no distant date, and the course of history might have been changed. Soon after the occupation of Batavia a little vessel called the *Duyfken* was sent to examine the coasts of New Guinea. In March, 1606, this vessel, commanded by Willem Janszoon, had worked along the south coast of New Guinea and reached the western end of Torres Strait, a few weeks before Torres entered the strait from

*Expedition  
to the  
Indies.*

*Exploration  
of Australian  
Coast.*

1606

the east. The winds were adverse, and so crowded are the straits with islands and reefs that Janszoon concluded that the land was continuous and there was no passage to the eastward. He ran southward into the Gulf of Carpentaria, and so entered a blind alley blocked by solid land to the eastward. He followed the west coast of Cape York Peninsula, still one of the least-known and the most thinly settled parts of the Australian coast-lands, as far as Cape Keer-weer (Turn again).

Janszoon and his crew were the first white men, as far as we know, to come into contact with the Australian aborigines, who are described as "wild, cruel black savages." They justified the description by murdering nine of the crew of the *Duyfken*; as a result of this, and the lack of provisions, the Dutchmen turned at Cape Keer-weer. They carried with them the belief that there was no strait between New Guinea and Cape York Peninsula, and this error was current amongst Dutch navigators and map-makers for more than a century afterwards. It was a mistake which had important results.

*A New  
Route to  
East Indies.*

While the voyage of the *Duyfken* was a deliberate attempt at exploration, the earlier Dutch discoveries on the west, south, and north-west coasts of Australia were largely the result of accidents. In their first voyages to the East the Dutch followed the old Portuguese track, sailing up the East African coast as far as Madagascar, and then across the Indian Ocean. But this took them into regions of tropical calm where the vessels were often becalmed for long periods and where the health of the crews suffered greatly. Moreover, while Goa in India was the main entrepôt of the Portuguese, the Dutch made their headquarters at Batavia in Java, much further to the south-east. In 1611 Hendrik Brouwer sailed due east after leaving the Cape till he was more or less in the longitude of Java, and then turned to the north. He found that in running down the easting he had favourable westerly winds to aid him in reaching Java, while when he turned north he soon had the help of the south-east monsoon, which blows for six or seven months in the year. As a result of

his success instructions were given that in future all Dutch commanders going east should follow this route.

This made it inevitable that the west coast of Australia would be discovered very soon. A course of about 4,500 miles due eastward from the Cape of Good Hope would bring a vessel to the south-west corner of Australia. In those days the means of determining latitude and longitude were very imperfect, and it was easy for a captain running before a favourable wind to go a little further than Brouwer had done and sight the Australian coast. This happened in 1616, only five years after Brouwer's voyage. In that year the ship *Eendragt* (Concord) made the land at the island still named after her captain, Dirk Hartog Island. Hartog landed on the island and set up a post with a metal plate affixed to it recording that the ship *Eendragt* had arrived on October 25, 1616, and had left again for Batavia on October 27. This plate was found in 1697 by Vlaming, another Dutch navigator, who erected another post and plate in its place. What is believed to be the very post of cypress here set up on Dirk Hartog Island by Vlaming is now in the museum at Perth, Western Australia.

Dirk Hartog's landfall in what the Dutch named after "New Southland" as *Guide-post*. his vessel the "Land of the Eendragt," was at once turned to very practical account by his countrymen. Amended sailing directions were given to the masters of the Dutch East Indiamen. They were to sail eastward from the Cape till they sighted the "New Southland of the Eendragt" before turning northward. The discovery of the new land also led very speedily to one or two attempts at systematic exploration, apart from the great voyage of Tasman, to be mentioned later. In 1618 the directors of the East India Company wrote to Governor-General Coen recommending that ships should be sent to examine the new land, inquire into its inhabitants, its resources and its possible openings for trade, and also try to find a passage eastward into the South Seas. A vessel called the *Pera* was sent out, and the result was the exploration of the coast of Arnhem Land in the far north of Australia and of part of the coast of the

1619

Gulf of Carpentaria. Torres Strait still remained unknown to the Dutch.

*Wreck of  
the "Trial."*

A knowledge of the western coasts of Australia was pieced together bit by bit as vessels sighted or skirted portions of the coast. In 1619 Houtman made the coast in latitude  $32\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , a little north of the mouth of the Swan River, and sailed northward along it for some hundreds of miles. He gave to a chain of islands and reefs the name of Houtman's Abrolhos, the latter a Portuguese word meaning "Keep your eyes open." In 1622, the *Leeuwin* (Lioness) sighted Cape Leeuwin, and this corner of Australia was named Leeuwin Land (translated into English as Land of Lions in some early works). In this same year appeared in Australian waters the first English vessel recorded to have sailed there. This was the ship *Trial*, which was wrecked on a reef north-west of Dirk Hartog Island, while following in the Dutch track to the Indies. Of the 133 persons on board, forty-six reached Batavia in their boats; the fate of the rest is unknown.

*Nuyts on  
the South  
Coast.*

Only one vessel is known to have sailed along the south coast of Australia, and this was the result of an accident. In 1627 the *Gulde Zeepaert*, on board of which was Pieter Nuyts, afterwards Dutch Ambassador to Japan, overshot the mark and ran along the coast of the Great Australian Bight for nearly a thousand miles, as far as the islands of St. Peter and St. Francis at the head of the Bight. The vessel then turned back and rounded the Leeuwin. Again the Dutch knowledge of the coast was filled in in 1628, when the *Vianen* was driven on to the north-west coast, on the shores of what is now the Kimberley region; this was named De Witt's Land, after the captain of the vessel.

As the net result of these and other discoveries the Dutch had by 1628 a fairly good rough general idea of the north, the west, and most of the south coasts of Australia from Cape York to the head of the Bight. Of its eastern coast they knew nothing, and the idea that the land stretched away unbroken almost to the Strait of Magellan was still commonly held. It is true that in 1616 Schouten and Le Maire had, by rounding Cape Horn, proved Terra

del Fuego to be an island, but no one knew the extent of Staten Land, to the south of the Strait of Le Maire.

In 1636 Anthony van Diemen became Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies. Though he knew nothing of the discovery of Torres, Van Diemen was not satisfied that New Guinea and the Southland formed one continent. So in 1636 he sent two vessels under Gerrit Thomaz Pool to see if there were a strait between New Guinea and the Southland. If one were found, Pool was to sail through it and trace the eastern coast of the Southland, returning by way of the coast of Nuyts Land. It seemed that the Dutch were about to anticipate the discovery made nearly a century and a half later by Captain Cook. But fate was against them. Pool and some of his men were slain by the savages on the New Guinea coast, and the vessels returned without finding the strait. Had they discovered it, the history of Australia might have been different. Van Diemen did not give up his attempt to explore further the "Great Southland," and to find a short route to Chile and Peru, but he set about it in a different way. After consultation with Franz Jacobszoon Visscher, the most famous Dutch pilot of the day, he decided to send an expedition to attack the problem from the other side. Visscher's original memorandum proposed not only an expedition from Batavia to go to the Mauritius and then south to latitude  $51^{\circ}$  or  $54^{\circ}$  S. or until land was met with and then eastward, but also another expedition to go southward from the Cape of Good Hope to about the same latitude, then to work westward round the Horn and across the South Pacific to the Solomons. Had Visscher's plans been adopted in their entirety the work of Cook might have been anticipated by over a century.

The only part of the proposal carried out, however, was the *Voyage of Tasman.* expedition from Batavia. Two small vessels, the *Hemskirk*, a vessel of about 200 tons with a crew of sixty men, and the *Zeehaen*, with fifty, were placed under the command of Abel Janszoon Tasman, a bold and experienced navigator. With him went Visscher as pilot-major. Leaving Batavia on August 14, 1642, Tasman reached Mauritius,

1642

— where there was then a Dutch settlement, on September 5. Both ships were leaking and in need of repairs, and Tasman did not leave Mauritius until October 8. He ran to the southward for three weeks, reaching 40° S. on October 29, and then turned nearly due eastward. On November 18 the expedition passed the longitude of the coast opposite the islands of St. Peter and St. Francis at the head of the Australian Bight, the furthest known extension to the eastward of the already discovered Southland.

*Tasmania  
Discovered.*

Heavy gales from the westward led Tasman to pull away a little to the north, and on November 24 he made his first landfall. This was on the western coast of the island of Tasmania, near the entrance of Macquarie Harbour. The Dutchmen then ran southward and eastward along the coast, and stood up for Adventure Bay, but were driven off shore by a north-westerly gale. On December 1 Tasman came to anchor in what is now known as Marion Bay on the south-east coast of Tasmania. "This land," he wrote in his journal, "is the first land we have met with in the South Sea, and is as yet known by no European nations. So we have given it the name of Anthony van Diemen's Land, in honour of the Governor-General who has sent us out to make these discoveries."

*Directions  
for Trading.*

Tasman's was not only an exploring but also a commercial expedition. The vessels carried a variety of merchandise and a supercargo to manage the trade. Gold and silver were to be specially sought for, but the instructions added: "Keep the natives ignorant of the value of the same; appear as if you were not greedy for them; and if gold or silver are offered to you in any barter you must feign that you do not value those metals, showing them copper, zinc, and lead as if those minerals were of more value with us." But Tasman did not have a chance of trying the effects of his views on the paleolithic savages of Tasmania. The Dutch seamen who went ashore thought that they heard the voices of men and the sound of a trumpet or small gong, but they saw no human being. They saw the steps, or rather toe-holds, cut in the bark of trees with stone "knives," with the help of which the natives used

to climb after opossums or birds' nests, the holes about five feet apart. They saw, too, the smoke of fires in the woods, and they concluded that "without doubt there must be men in this place, and those of an uncommon stature."

1642

After searching in vain for a good supply of water, and *Finding of New Zealand.* formally hoisting the Dutch flag, the explorers, after a stay of three days, ran to the northward. They followed the coast as far as St. Patrick's Head, when the wind swung round to the north-west and made it difficult to hold the land in sight. Had Tasman held on his course northward he might have discovered Bass Strait, and could very easily have explored the east coast of Australia 130 years before Cook. But amongst his instructions was an order to search for a route through the South Seas to the coast of Chile, and he turned his course to the east, intending to run to the longitude of the Solomon Islands and then north. He discovered New Zealand, which he took to be part of the "Great Southland," and called Staten Land, believing that it might possibly be continuous with the land of that name near Cape Horn. At Massacre Bay he came into collision with the Maoris, who killed, and no doubt ate, three of his crew. Massacre Bay is near the western end of Cook Strait, but, as in the case of Torres Strait, the Dutch were unlucky. Tasman noted a south-east current and suspected that there must be a passage, but the weather was so bad that he did not stay to seek it. Had he done so he would have soon seen that he had not found the "Great Southland."

Instead, he ran to the northward along the west coast of the North Island and rounded the northern end of New Zealand. After doing so he met a great swell from the south-east which made him feel certain that there was a clear passage to the coast of Chile, though it did not quite destroy his belief in the existence of a continent to the east of New Zealand. After discovering some of the Friendly Islands, Tasman sailed north-west to the coast of New Guinea and reached Batavia after an absence of ten months. He had accomplished the first circumnavigation of Australia, had proved that the lands already discovered there were not part of the supposed great Southern Continent, and

1644

had discovered New Zealand. But as far as the continent of Australia was concerned, he had added nothing to the actual knowledge of his coast-line beyond placing on the map a rough outline of part of Southern Tasmania.

*Tasman's  
Second  
Voyage.*

Anthony van Diemen hoped for much from the finding of a new way to South America. He had visions in 1644 of sending a fleet to open up a track with Chile, and to harass the Spaniards in Peru. And while Tasman had brought back nothing of value from the new discovered lands, Van Diemen believed that they must contain many things of profit—and especially gold and silver mines—"no whit inferior to those of Peru or Chile." In spite of the mis-adventure of 1636, Van Diemen had not yet given up hope of finding a passage between New Guinea and the Southland. On December 30, 1643, Tasman again sailed from Batavia with three vessels, manned in all by 111 men, with instructions to look for a strait leading from the Gulf of Carpentaria into the South Sea. If he found it, he was to go as far to the south-east as the newly found Van Diemen's Land, and then back along the southern coast of Australia, and up the west to De Witt's Land, thus completely circumnavigating the Southland. It seemed that the mystery of Australia must be solved this time, yet again the Dutch failed. The journal of Tasman's voyage of 1644 has been lost and the reason for the failure is not known. The chart of the voyage shows that Tasman actually got into the mouth of Torres Strait; probably adverse winds and the multitude of islands and reefs that block the fairway deterred him from going further. Much to the annoyance of Van Diemen, Tasman returned with little to show for his voyage but some very accurate charting of the northern and north-western coasts of Australia. Van Diemen seems to have been far from satisfied that there was not a strait. But, as he pointed out, Tasman had circumnavigated the "Great Southland." It was calculated that this land had 8,000 miles of coast, a good round approximation to the actual extent of just under 10,000 miles.

*Vlaming  
on the  
West Coast.*

Anthony van Diemen died in 1645, and with him ended, for all practical purposes, the Dutch exploration in

Australasian waters. Until Cook's voyage of 1770, the map of Australasia remained practically as Tasman left it in 1644. Tasman himself lived on at Batavia till 1659, but he never again sailed in Australasian waters. During the latter half of the seventeenth century, Dutch vessels occasionally, either by accident or design, sighted the western coasts of Australia, but their visits added little to what was already known. In 1697, Willem Vlaming, sailing on a voyage of discovery, explored a part of the western coast, and made the first attempt at an exploration of the country inland. He discovered the Swan River and carried to Batavia the first black swan taken from Australia. But the Directors of the Dutch East India Company looked with a cold eye on Vlaming's discoveries. Referring to his botanical specimens they observed contemptuously that bark and leaves could be gathered nearer home and at less cost. In this attitude lies the real explanation of the failure of the Dutch, after having gone more than half-way with the exploration of Australia, to proceed any further. Discoveries did not pay. The Dutch East India Company was run to make profits, and the voyages to the Australian coast had proved very unprofitable. Even Van Diemen's hope—more than realised two centuries later—of finding a new Peru in the Southland did not strike the imagination of the Directors of the Company in Holland. "The gold and silver mines that will best serve the Company's turn have already been found," they wrote, "and which we deem to be our trade over the whole of India."

1688

—

*English  
and French  
enter the  
Lists.*

## CHAPTER II

### FRANCE AND ENGLAND IN THE SOUTH

IT is a curious coincidence that the last few years of the seventeenth century, which saw the last serious attempt made by the Dutch at the exploration of Australia, saw also the first visit to the Australian coast of representatives of the two nations, England and France, which completed that exploration. In 1688 a company of buccaneers who had made things too hot on the western coasts of Central and South America resolved to seek in their ship, the *Cyngnet*, a quieter region on the coast of what the Dutch called New Holland. Their visit would probably have been as completely forgotten as the visits to Australia of many other early navigators have been, but that amongst them was a man with a genius for describing what he saw. William Dampier and his companions careened their vessel on the north-west coast of Australia.

*Dampier's  
Voyage in the  
"Roebuck."*

They saw little to attract them either in the country or its inhabitants, but on his return to England after many adventures, Dampier managed to promote an expedition to New Holland under his own command. It was in the reign of William III., when William Paterson promoted in Scotland the disastrous Darien enterprise while in England interest in the South Seas was still keen—an interest which Daniel Defoe was to exploit a little later with his "Robinson Crusoe" and some of his less known stories of adventure. The Admiralty in 1699 sent Dampier out on a voyage of exploration to Australia in the ship *Roebuck*. Dampier proposed to go round the Horn and across the Pacific, which would have brought him to the east coast of Australia, where he could have completed the work which Tasman had left undone. But his crew would not face the passage round the Horn, and he went round the Cape of

Good Hope, and this brought him to the western coasts already well known to the Dutch. Dampier spent four months there, but he seems to have discovered less than Vlaming, who had preceded him by two years, and had made a serious attempt at inland exploration. Dampier coasted the north-western and western shores of Australia for about 1,000 miles. Of the natives, he remarks that the Hottentots, though a nasty people, were gentlemen by comparison, and he had nothing more favourable to say of the country, which he pronounced dry, sandy, and barren. On the coast along which he sailed are some of the richest pearl-fisheries in the world, but he did not know that.

The French voyager who visited the western coast of Australia preceded both Vlaming and Dampier. In a letter sent to the French Minister for Marine, asking for assistance in an expedition to the "Terres Australes," De Voutron, a sea-captain, states that in 1687 he had, while on a voyage to Siam, made the coast in latitude 31°, just north of the mouth of the Swan River. Incidentally, after mentioning that the Dutch were accustomed to make a landfall on this coast on their voyages to Java, De Voutron says: "The Dutch have forbidden their pilots under pain of death to make chart of these lands or to give foreigners any information about them." De Voutron urged that these lands might be fit for colonisation, and that, if a good harbour could be found, a French colony would be valuable as a place of call for vessels in the Eastern trade. But nothing seems to have come of De Voutron's proposal. French interest in Australia was a plant of later growth.

With the end of the seventeenth century Australia *Projectors and Proposals.* ceased to attract any attention. The Dutch had lost all interest in it; neither the English nor the French cared to follow up the initial ventures of Dampier or De Voutron. A few stray adventurers put forward schemes for colonising Australia, but could get no one to take their proposals very seriously. In 1716 Captain John Welbe urged the founding of a colony in what he called New Wales; he was a little hazy about the situation of New Wales, but it seems to have been the Solomon Islands rather than New South Wales.

1738

A little later Jean François Puruy, a Swiss, attempted to push, both in France and in England, the idea of a colony in Nuyts Land, apparently because he considered 33° from the Equator a most favourable latitude for a colony. No one heeded his advice, so he went to North America and died there. In 1738 Bouvet sailed from France to search for the great Southern Continent, but he spent his time beating to and fro in the stormy seas to the south of the Cape of Good Hope, where he found Bouvet Island. When France lost Canada we find plans put forward in France for building up in the south a new empire to make good the one lost in the north; but the only immediate result was the founding in 1764 of a small colony in the Falkland Islands, which was abandoned in 1767 as the result of pressure from Spain.

*"Beyond the Equinoctial Line."*

At this period Great Britain was showing a renewed interest in the South Seas. As far back as 1580 Queen Elizabeth's Secretary of State, Walsingham, had drawn up a plan for an English colony "beyond the Equinoctial line," of which it was proposed that Sir Francis Drake should be Governor. Later we have the voyage of Dampier, and in 1764 Commodore Byron was sent on a voyage to the South Seas. This was followed in the next few years by the voyages of Captain Wallis and of Captain Philip Carteret. Wallis visited Tahiti, which he named King George's Island, but both he and Carteret kept well to the north of Australia. Carteret, after discovering the lonely Pitcairn Island, laid a course which would, if persisted in, have brought him on to the north-east corner of Australia. But his vessel, the *Swallow*, was in sad need of repairs, and the south-east trade wind blew so strongly that he decided to run before it into the Equatorial region, and then kept away to the north of New Guinea.

*The Transit of Venus.*

These voyages show clearly the extent to which interest in the far south had been aroused in England, but the next great step in the unveiling of Australia was due to an event far beyond the limit of our globe.

On June 1, 1769, the orbit of the planet Venus was to cross the face of the sun, and it was considered by the Royal

Society of London eminently desirable that an expedition should be sent to Tahiti, which had recently been discovered by Wallis, to watch the transit of Venus under the most favourable conditions. The Admiralty, being asked to find a ship to carry the astronomers and their instruments to Tahiti, agreed and bought a 370-ton collier called the *Earl of Pembroke*, which was refitted and rechristened the *Endeavour Bark* to distinguish her from another *Endeavour* in the Navy.

Lieutenant James Cook, a Yorkshireman, who had passed into the Navy from the Merchant Service, and had done good work under difficult conditions in charting the St. Lawrence and other portions of the coast-line of North America, was appointed to the command of the *Endeavour*. Apart from the astronomers the vessel carried other scientists. Amongst them by a lucky chance was a wealthy amateur botanist, Sir Joseph Banks, whose interest in Australia was maintained to the end of a long and busy life, and who was, far more than Cook, the founder of Australia.

By way of killing two birds with one stone, Cook was directed, after the transit of Venus had been observed at Tahiti, to go as far to the south in the South Pacific as 40°. If he found no land there he was to explore the coasts of New Zealand and then return to England by such route as he thought proper. Finding no land to the southward after leaving Tahiti, Cook did run to New Zealand. He proved that what Tasman thought might be part of the great Southern Continent was but two large islands, and charted the coasts with remarkable accuracy, considering the conditions under which he worked; though details like the separation of Stewart Island from the South Island remained to be filled in later.

When he left New Zealand for good on March 31, 1770, Cook sailed for the mysterious east coast of Australia—*Voyage to Australian Coast.* that coast which must have, on the evidence of the map of 1542, been traced by some forgotten navigator early in the sixteenth century, but which, as far as we know, had never been visited since. All that was known of Australia at that moment was what Tasman knew a century and a

1762

quarter before—the coast-line from Cape York round to the head of the Bight, and the outline of Southern Tasmania far away on the south-east. Eight years before, in 1762, the fact that Torres had sailed through Torres Strait had been dug out of the archives at Manila. It seems almost incredible that Cook should not have known of this discovery, but the accounts of his voyage give the idea that he had no definite information about it.

*Why the Step was Taken.* It does not appear that Cook himself attached any great importance to the exploration of the east coast of Australia. He went that way because the season was too late to go round Cape Horn, the route which he wished to take. The reasons which led him to steer for Australia on leaving New Zealand are set out as follows in Hawkesworth's "Voyages":

"I resolved therefore to quit the country and to return home by such a route as might be of most advantage to the Service, and upon this subject took the opinion of my officers. I had myself a strong desire to return by Cape Horn because that would have enabled me finally to determine whether there is or is not a southern continent; but against this it was a sufficient objection that we must keep in a high southern latitude in the very depth of winter in a vessel which was not thought sufficient for the undertaking; and the same reason was urged against our proceeding directly for the Cape of Good Hope, still more because no discovery of moment could be hoped for in that route; it was therefore resolved that we should return by the East Indies, and that with this view we should upon leaving the west steer westward till we should fall in with the east coast of New Holland and then follow the direction of that coast to the northward till we should arrive at its northern extremity; but if that should be found to be impracticable that we should endeavour to fall in with the land or islands said to have been discovered by Quiros."

*Visit to Botany Bay.*

In this spirit of making the best of a rather bad job, Cook sailed westward. Three weeks brought him to the Australian coast, and at 6 o'clock on the morning of April 20 Lieutenant Hicks sighted the land near the present boundary between

Victoria and New South Wales. This was over four degrees to the northward of the point at which Tasman had last seen the Tasmanian coast. Cook ran northward up the coast, passing by the wonderful harbour of Twofold Bay, until April 30, when he anchored in Botany Bay, first named Stingray Harbour after a huge ray captured there, but re-named Botany Bay because of the vast numbers of new plants collected on its shores. Though Cook was a week at Botany Bay, which is but a poor harbour, the magnificent Sydney Harbour a few miles to the north was overlooked, the entrance only being noted as the *Endeavour* sailed northward. From Botany Bay Cook followed the coast to its extreme northern point at Cape York. On the way the *Endeavour* struck a reef, and had to be beached and repaired at the Endeavour River near the present Cooktown. Through a sea studded with islands and bristling with reefs and shoals, Cook found his way to Possession Island, where he took formal possession of the whole eastern coast of Australia.

Cook made two more great voyages, and on both of *Cook and Australia.* these he again visited New Zealand. It is very puzzling that he never again visited Australia, though on his last voyage, in 1777, he did call at Adventure Bay in South-Eastern Tasmania. He made no attempt to trace the coast between his first landfall and the coast-line sketched by Tasman, or between Tasman's first landfall on the west coast of Tasmania and the head of the Bight. On his second voyage, in 1772-1774, Cook considered the question of finding out whether Van Diemen's Land was an island or part of the mainland, but was led to give up the idea by Tobias Furneaux, captain of his companion ship, the *Adventure*. Furneaux had sailed up as far as Flinders Island before joining Cook on the New Zealand coast, and he came to the conclusion that there was no strait between New Holland and Van Diemen's Land. Cook accepted his opinion and after that seems to have lost all interest in Australia.

The narrative of Cook's voyages became a very popular French and widely read work both in England and on the Continent. "Prise de Possession." But there was no immediate movement to occupy the

1772

land of which he had taken possession. For a moment it seemed likely that the French might anticipate the English. In 1772 the French were busy at each end of Australia. According to the MS. log of his voyage preserved in the Paris archives, and never yet published, Saint Allouarn followed the coast of Western Australia from the Leeuwin to Shark Bay, where, on March 30, 1772, he took formal possession of the land for France and hoisted the French flag.

*Marion's  
Expedition.*

The French had a base not far away at Mauritius, but Saint Allouarn died at Port Louis, and Ives de Kerguelen, who was to have gone exploring again in the Southern Seas, fell into disgrace from too free an indulgence in wine and wassail; he was tried by court-martial and stripped of his command. The same year Marion du Fresne sailing from Mauritius on Tasman's track landed in Van Diemen's Land, and went on to New Zealand, where he was slain by the Maoris. Marion and his crew were the first white men to come into contact with the long since extinct aborigines of Tasmania. The result was a foreshadowing of the fate of the wretched aborigines. There was a misunderstanding, and one of the aborigines was killed by the fire of the French.

## CHAPTER III

### BEGINNINGS OF SETTLEMENT

As Cook's charting of the east coast of Australia was due to the transit of Venus, so the founding of the first British settlement in Australia was brought about by happenings in North America. The revolt of the thirteen colonies and their recognition, in 1783, as the United States forced the British authorities to look elsewhere for a receptacle for the overflow of the British prisons which had formerly gone to the American colonies. There was also the problem of disposing of the 50,000 or more American loyalists who had been driven out by the victorious insurgents. Most of the loyalists settled in Canada, but thousands of them were, after the close of the war, living in destitution in England.

1783

*Great Britain  
turns to  
Australia.*

More pressing, to the minds of the authorities, was the *Transportation of Prisoners.* prison problem. During the earlier part of the eighteenth century over 50,000 convicts had been transported to the American colonies, where there was a keen demand for their labours. Now that those colonies were closed, the gaols and the hulks which had been bought to supplement them were crowded to suffocation. It was suggested that parts of Western Africa would serve as convict settlements. One or two shiploads of convicts were sent there. They died so rapidly from fever and pestilence that it was felt unfair to send, to what was certain death, men sentenced to transportation only.

Attention was directed, therefore, to the coast explored by Cook. Its very remoteness was in some sense an advantage, for it made it harder for prisoners once sent there to get away. Moreover, Cook and his companions had spoken favourably of the country and of the climate. It is to Sir Joseph Banks more than to any other man that the

*The United  
Empire  
Loyalists.*

1779

title of "Father of Australia" belongs. As early as 1779 he had, in giving evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons, urged the founding of a settlement near Botany Bay, to which convicts could be transported. A plan for a colony in which both the American loyalists and the convicts would be provided for was put forward in 1773 by James Maria Matra, a Corsican, who had also sailed with Cook. He had discussed his plan with some of the Americans, who agreed that it seemed to offer great possibilities. There was a continent waiting empty, except for a scanty native population, and a situation favourable for trade with Southern and Eastern Asia.

A proposal for the settlement of American loyalists in Australia and for the transportation thither of convicts, who would provide the necessary labour for development, was also put forward in 1785 by Admiral Sir George Young. He laid special stress on the remoteness of Australia, remarking that if convicts were once sent there they could not get back, a hope which proved somewhat fallacious.

*"Gaol  
Delivery"  
to Australia.*

Moved to action by the increasing congestion in the gaols and hulks, the Ministry of William Pitt decided to try the experiment of a convict settlement on the coast explored by Cook. In the King's Speech at the opening of Parliament in 1787 it was announced that it had been resolved to transport a number of convicts to "New Holland" in order to relieve the crowded state of the gaols. This seems a very fair summary of the motives which led the Ministry of the day to found the first settlement in Australia. There was no wide vision in the minds of Ministers of the creation of a new Empire or the planting of British stock in a quarter of the world where it might grow into a great new nation. Some such visions there may have been in the minds of certain enthusiasts, but Pitt and his Cabinet were concerned only with finding a solution of the practical difficulties raised by the congestion in the prisons, and the need for an outlet. How much they were obsessed by this aspect of the case is shown by the fact that no attempt was made to provide in Australia for the United Empire loyalists driven out of the United States, and Canada was the gainer; but

1787

Australia would have benefited greatly by the settlement there of a strong and virile body of men, already used to some extent to pioneering, though in widely different conditions. Some of the greatest hindrances to the early development of Australia would have been removed or greatly reduced if Pitt and his fellows had accepted, and carried into effect, the proposals of Young and Matra.

The First Fleet sailed for Australia on May 13, 1787. The *Sailing of the First Fleet.* expedition consisted of the warships *Sirius* and *Supply*, with three store ships and six transports. The total number of convicts was 717, of whom 520 were men. In addition to the officers and marines sent as a guard, were the civil officers, and some women and children numbering 290, making 1,007 in all. Of the convicts, most had been sentenced to transportation for seven or fourteen years; there were a few sentenced to transportation for life.

Captain Arthur Phillip, who had seen much service in the *Governor Phillip's Jurisdiction.* Navy, and had been living in the country as a farmer since his retirement on half-pay, was chosen as Captain-General (a term taken from the Spanish colonies in America) and Governor of New South Wales. The limits over which his authority was to extend were defined as extending from Cape York to the southern extremity of Van Diemen's Land, and including the country to the westward as far as  $135^{\circ}$  E. No claim was made, therefore, to the western part of Australia, which had been explored by the Dutch. Phillip's jurisdiction also extended to the "adjacent islands," a term to which he, and more especially his successors, gave a very liberal interpretation. Phillip held Norfolk Island, 1,000 miles to the eastward, to be within the limits assigned to him. Later Governors held the same view about New Zealand, and even about Tahiti and other islands in the South Pacific.

The First Fleet reached Botany Bay on January 18, *Port Jackson preferred to Botany Bay.* 1788, the slower ships coming in two days later. Phillip did not share the enthusiasm which Botany Bay had imbued in its discoverers. It was too exposed and too shallow to be a good harbour, and the "meadows" round it proved, on close examination, to be swamps. The flowers and

1788

the strange plants which had so interested Banks were there, but the soil was poor. Phillip lost little time in exploring Port Jackson, the harbour a few miles further north, of which the entrance only had been noted by Cook. Here Phillip found what he described with pardonable exaggeration as the finest harbour in the world—a vast expanse of sheltered water broken into many bays with arms stretching far inland. Four miles from the entrance on the southern side was a deep indentation to which Phillip gave the name of Sydney Cove. At its head was a small stream, long since lost to view under the streets and buildings of Sydney, which offered a water supply adequate to the modest needs of the young settlement. At the head of this cove Phillip pitched his camp and began the building of a town. On January 26, still celebrated in Australia as "Anniversary Day," the British flag was hoisted, and the settlers, who had all been brought round from Botany Bay, were set to work to build huts, clear the ground, and make the first settlement of white men on the continent of Australia. On February 7 the Governor's Commission was formally read. Phillip took the oaths of office in the presence of the whole population.

*Visit of  
Lapérouse.*

"We were leaving the world behind us to enter on a state unknown," wrote David Collins, Phillip's Judge-Advocate, when the First Fleet was on its way to Australia. But the new settlement, even in its earliest years, had not a few visitors from the outside world—visitors of many nationalities and of the most varied characters. The first of these arrived on January 24, just as Phillip was moving his subjects from Botany Bay to the site that he had chosen at Sydney Cove. They were two French exploring vessels under the command of the Count de Lapérouse. Lapérouse had left France in 1785, but in far-off Kamschatka news had reached him of the British decision to establish a colony in New South Wales. He had expected, indeed, to have found the project more advanced, thinking that a market would have been established. Lapérouse put into Botany Bay in order to build there two new boats, for which he carried the materials. These were to replace two that he had lost

1788

amongst the Pacific Islands. There is no evidence that Lapérouse had any idea of claiming territory for France or of founding a settlement. The French stayed in Botany Bay until March 20, on the most friendly terms with Lieutenant King and other British officers, their only trouble being the requests to be taken away made by discontented convicts. Then they sailed away to meet their fate soon afterwards on the reefs of Vanikoro.

While there is no evidence that Lapérouse had any intention of founding a settlement, it is obvious from the instructions issued to Phillip that the authorities in England were jealous of French intervention in the South Seas. Not only did they include the whole of the eastern half of Australia in the territory of New South Wales, but they ordered Phillip to occupy Norfolk Island "to secure the same to us, and prevent it being occupied by the subjects of any other European power." In obedience to this order Phillip, on February 14, 1788, sent Lieutenant King with twenty-three companions, of whom fifteen were convicts, to found a settlement on Norfolk Island. Thus began the colony of Norfolk Island, which remained, until the occupation of Van Diemen's Land in 1803, the only British settlement in Australasia outside Sydney and its neighbourhood.

Phillip had an idea of anticipating by fifteen years the sending of settlers to Van Diemen's Land, but it came to nothing. During the first few months of the settlement at Sydney six men were condemned to death for robbing the stores and stealing provisions. One was executed, and of the others Phillip wrote: "They are to be exiled from the settlement, and, when the season permits, I intend they shall be landed near the South Cape (of Van Diemen's Land), where, by their forming connections with the natives, some benefit may accrue to the public." Later, however, the men were pardoned.

A less optimistic man than Phillip would have despaired of his task. The human material with which he had to deal was not only in many cases desperately bad, but quite inefficient. When Phillip needed carpenters to build

*Initial  
Difficulties  
and Dis-  
cour-  
age-  
ments.*

1788

huts to shelter his settlers, he could find only twelve amongst the five hundred odd convicts; in addition to these, sixteen carpenters from the vessels were hired for a short period. Writing on July 9, 1788, Phillip says that the number of convicts actually employed in erecting buildings and in cultivating the land was 332, while the number of persons victualled was 966, so that only a third of the whole number were actually available for work. Scurvy had raged amongst the colonists, and in these few months twenty men and eight women had died, while four men had been executed and three killed by the natives, and twelve had absconded from the settlement, all of whom no doubt were either killed by the aborigines or perished in the wilderness. Of the stock, some were killed by lightning, wild dogs killed some of the sheep, and four cows and two bulls wandered away and were lost for seven years, when their descendants, greatly increased in numbers, were found.

The soil round Sydney was found to be exceedingly poor and hungry, and when better land was opened up about Parramatta, at the head of the harbour, it was some time before enough grain could be grown to do much toward supplying the wants of the settlement. Yet in the face of all these disadvantages and difficulties, Phillip wrote in July, 1788: "I do not doubt that this country will prove the most valuable acquisition Great Britain ever made."

*First  
Attempts at  
Farming.*

At this time Phillip had eight or ten acres sown with wheat and barley, and the Lieutenant-Governor, Major Ross, had four acres under cultivation, but rats and other vermin greatly injured the crops. This first attempt at farming was made at the head of Farm Cove, but a year or so later a more suitable area of land for agriculture was found about Parramatta on a river flowing into Sydney Harbour. Very few of the convicts knew or cared anything about farming, and at this early stage the military officers and civil officials, many of whom afterwards embarked on farming and grazing on a considerable scale, were for the most part pessimistic about the prospects. But Phillip found a useful superintendent in Henry Dodd,

who had come out as his servant. Dodd remained in charge of the convicts engaged in clearing and cultivating land until his death early in 1791. From many of the military officers Phillip received little or no assistance. They refused to supervise the convicts on the ground that it was outside the scope of their duty. For the first two or three years the settlement was almost always on the verge of starvation. The tools and utensils sent out were poor in quality and insufficient in quantity. As late as November, 1791, when there were 3,339 persons in the settlement, Phillip wrote to Under-Secretary Nepean: "Two or three hundred iron frying-pans will be a saving of spades." He also remarked: "I beg leave to point out that bad tools are of no kind of use."

The first settler was a convict, James Ruse, whose time had expired. In November, 1789, he entered on a farm of thirty acres at Parramatta, on which an acre and a half of ground had been cleared for him. He was supported from the public store till February, 1791, when he declared that he could support himself.

In April, 1789, the invasion of white men first began *Smallpox amongst Aborigines.* to have serious effects on the aboriginal population. In that month began an outbreak of smallpox, the forerunner of other epidemic diseases, which later wrought great havoc amongst the natives of the continent. This swept away large numbers of the aborigines. Only one man in the settlement, a North American sailor on the ship *Supply*, died. Whether the disease was introduced by the First Fleet or by the crews of Lapérouse's vessels is not known. Phillip states that up to the time of the outbreak there had been no smallpox in the settlement.

The need for provisions, which had become acute with *Provisions Run Short.* the non-arrival of store ships from England, led Phillip in April, 1790, to send Lieutenant Ball, in command of the armed tender *Supply*, to Batavia in Java. When the *Supply* returned, she was accompanied by the first foreign vessel to enter Sydney Harbour, the Dutch "Snow" *Waaksamheid*, which had been hired to bring extra provisions from Batavia. She was afterwards chartered to take to

1791

England the crew of the *Sirius*, which had been wrecked at Norfolk Island. At the end of 1791 the *Atlantic* was sent to Calcutta for provisions.

*First  
Whaling  
and Sealing  
Ventures.*

During Governor Phillip's reign a beginning—but not a very lucky one—was made with what was long one of the chief industries of the colony, whaling. Towards the end of 1791 two vessels—the *Britannia* and the *William and Ann*, which had brought convicts to the colony—went out to try their luck at whaling along the coast. They killed seven whales the day after leaving Sydney Harbour, but lost all but two owing to a gale of wind. For the rest of the fortnight which they spent at sea, bad weather prevented them from taking any of the many whales which they saw around them. Two other vessels—the *Mary Ann* and the *Matilda*, went to the southward in search of seals, but they, too, met with bad weather. The *Matilda* discovered a good harbour in Jervis Bay, on the shores of which now stands the Commonwealth Naval College. As a result of this lack of success, the vessels went to the whaling grounds off the west coast of South America, and it was several years before any more whaling was done in Australasian waters. The first sealing, however, was done in 1792–1793. Towards the end of 1792 the *Britannia* was chartered by some of the officers to bring livestock and provisions from the Cape of Good Hope. The *Britannia* was owned by the famous whaling firm of Enderbys of London, and her master, William Raven, landed eleven men at Dusky Sound on the stormy south-western coast of the South Island of New Zealand, where they spent about a year before the *Britannia* picked them up again in the course of another voyage to the Cape. During this time they had collected 4,500 seal-skins, and also nearly finished a small vessel, the first built in Australasia of Australasian timber. This was afterwards completed and sailed to Sydney by some of the crew of the *Endeavour*, an old vessel which was abandoned in Dusky Sound while on a voyage to the Cape.

*American  
Vessels at  
Sydney.*

Towards the close of Governor Phillip's term of office another foreign vessel visited the colony. This was the

*Philadelphia*, the first of over fifty United States ships which put into Sydney during the first quarter of a century of settlement. These ships carried a large part of the trade of the infant colony, largely as a result of the restrictions placed on British vessels by the East India Company, which at this time possessed the monopoly of trade between the Cape of Good Hope and the Strait of Magellan.

1792

Phillip resigned his office on the ground of ill-health after *Resignation of Phillip.* four strenuous years. He sailed on the transport *Atlantic* on December 11, 1792, leaving the reins of government in the hands of Lieutenant-Governor Francis Grose. When Phillip left, the two settlements at Sydney and at Norfolk Island were well established, though there were times later when, as the result of floods and bad harvests, famine was again to stare the settlement in the face. A return dated October 16, 1792, shows a total of 1,603 acres under cultivation, without reckoning Norfolk Island and another 100 acres cleared ready for planting. Phillip hoped to return, but he never again saw the settlement which he had founded, and of whose future greatness he had never despaired, even in the darkest days. He lived quietly in England and died at Bath in 1814.

Major Grose was the officer in command of the New South Wales Corps, a body of troops raised in England to replace the Marines who came out as guards with the First Fleet. He was Lieutenant-Governor for two years until his departure for England in December, 1794. Grose's rule was a lax one, and in particular he laid the foundations of evils which long afflicted the colony, by allowing the military officers to enter into trade, more especially in rum, the common intoxicating drink of those times. His liberality in the matter of grants of land to officers was less dangerous to the well-being of the colony, yet in some respects it discouraged enterprise on the part of others, since the military landholders largely monopolised the business of supplying grain and meat to the Government stores, and the Government was the only large customer.

*The New  
South Wales  
Corps.*

A few weeks after Grose's accession to office there arrived *Free Settlers Arrive.* at Sydney a new element in the population. So far the

1793

people of the colony had consisted entirely of convicts and their guards, or of civil officers and others employed by the Government. Now there arrived the first free settlers, seven men, of whom one was accompanied by his wife and four children. Grants of land varying from 60 to 120 acres were given to them at Liberty Plains, an area now covered by the suburbs of Sydney. It does not appear, however, that this first experiment in the sending of free settlers met with any very great success.

*Malaspina's  
Vessels at  
Sydney.*

In March, 1793, Sydney was visited by a Spanish explorer, a worthy successor of Mendana, Torres, and the other Spanish navigators who sailed the South Pacific in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This was Don Alejandro Malaspina, in command of two vessels, the *Descubierta* and *Atrevida*, which had sailed from Cadiz in 1790, and had charted most of the west coast of America, North and South, and had spent a considerable time on the coast of China and in the Philippines. The Spaniards spent a month in Sydney, and the observations of Viana, one of the officers, who wrote a book about the expedition later, show that he was something of a prophet. He predicted that New South Wales, by virtue of its climate and pasturage, would one day become a great pastoral country. David Collins, who met the Spaniards, records the fact that they were much struck by the absence of any church in the settlement, where the chaplain preached under a tree. One of them remarked that if it had been a Spanish colony a house for God would have been built before a house for man. The fact mentioned by Collins that at a dinner on board the Spanish ships—for which a small cow brought from California had been killed—the officers of the colony tasted fresh beef for the second time since their arrival in the colony, brings out one of the minor hardships of early empire-building in Australia. From Sydney the Spaniards went to New Zealand. They reached Cadiz again in 1794. Malaspina fell into disgrace at Court for some reason, and was sent to prison. The official account of the expedition was not published till 1885, and has never been translated into English.

To the stock of cattle, sheep, and other animals from

South Africa and Brazil was added a small stock from North America when the store ship *Dædalus*, which had accompanied Vancouver, arrived in April, 1793. Most of the animals died on the passage across the Pacific. Only one calf, four sheep, and a number of pigs survived.

1793

*Stocking the Colony.*

Whatever was the motive for Grose's action in encouraging the military and civil officers to engage in farming, by the grant of lands and of the services of convict labourers, it certainly led to a rapid increase in the area under cultivation. By April, 1794, the area cleared had increased from 1,703 acres to 4,665, of which 982 had been put under cultivation by military officers and civil officials. This increase was partly due to the extension of settlement beyond the country round Sydney Harbour and on the Parramatta River. It was in Grose's day that the rich land along the Hawkesbury River, the granary of early New South Wales, was first occupied. By 1795 there were over 400 persons settled on the Hawkesbury, and their farms extended for nearly thirty miles along the river on both sides. They came into conflict in that year with the natives, who came down in numbers to eat the maize when it ripened. Conflicts soon occurred, and within a few weeks five persons were killed, and several wounded. Sixty soldiers of the New South Wales Corps were sent up, and drove away the natives, of whom a number were killed.

Grose was not of the stuff of which great rulers and pioneers are made. In an official despatch he says: "I cannot but be alarmed at all I purchase and everything I do, being unaccustomed to business, and fearful of acting so much from my own discretion."

On December 17, 1794, Grose sailed for England, and the government devolved upon Captain William Paterson, an amiable if rather weak man, with strong scientific interests, who administered the government until the arrival of Governor Hunter in September, 1795. Paterson allowed the military clique which Grose had favoured to continue its domination and carry on the trade in spirits and other articles, and there were two interesting trade developments in 1795. A vessel, aptly named the *Experiment*, carried

*Growth of Cultivation.**Domination of Military Officers.*

1793

to India the first cargo of timber ever exported from Australia. A brig, the *Fancy*, also secured a cargo of timber from New Zealand, spending three months in the River Thames while her crew cut the spars. Earlier than this, in 1793, Lieutenant King, then Lieutenant-Governor of Norfolk Island, had paid a visit to New Zealand, taking with him two Maoris who had previously been brought to Norfolk Island for the purpose of instructing the settlers in the working of the "flax" plant (*Phormium tenax*), which grew on the island as well as in New Zealand. The experiment, by the way, turned out unfortunately. The two Maoris brought to the island were warriors, and as the manufacture of flax was left to the women and the slaves, they knew very little about it.

*Land Grant System.*

When Governor Phillip was granted his commission as Governor and Captain-General of New South Wales, he was given power to make grants of land. His instructions directed him to grant thirty acres of land to each emancipated convict, with twenty acres more if he were married, and ten acres for each child. The land was to be free of all taxes and charges for ten years, after which a quit rent of 6d. a year for each thirty acres was to be paid. The persons receiving the grants were bound to live on them and cultivate them. Grose had given grants of land to military officers and others, apparently without any definite authority, and Hunter was now authorised to grant areas not exceeding 100 acres more than those given to emancipists, to free settlers, with further areas in cases of special merit. He was also directed to assign convicts to settlers, for whom they would labour, on condition that the settlers maintained, fed, and clothed the convicts. It was also stipulated that 400 acres near each town should be set aside for the maintenance of a minister, and 200 for a schoolmaster; and Grose had granted 10,764 acres of land in two years, and Paterson 4,965 acres in nine months. It must be remembered that at this time, and for nearly twenty years afterwards, the settlement in New South Wales was confined to a very small area round Sydney and Parramatta on the Hawkesbury, and at one or two other

1796

points on the coastal strip, and that therefore there was not the almost illimitable area of land available, which was the case later when the country was more fully opened up. Grose had been instructed by the authorities in London to insist strictly on the residential condition in the case of all grants, but both he and Paterson neglected to do this. Hunter stated in a despatch written a few weeks after his arrival in Sydney that many convicts, who were not entitled to grants, had been given slips of paper bearing the words: "A.B. has my permission to settle," signed by the commanding officer. This, says Hunter, served them as a sufficient authority to fix wherever they pleased. These settlers, who obtained land in such an irregular way, were allowed assigned convicts. Convicts were assigned as servants, too, to sergeants, corporals, and even private soldiers. When Hunter arrived scarcely twenty convicts could be called together in Sydney for any public work. Hunter found that Paterson had made it a rule to grant twenty-five acres to every private soldier under his command. The soldiers could not occupy and cultivate the land; they therefore sold it, usually to their own officers, some of whom thus acquired considerable means.

It was found, too, that the traffic in spirits, carried on mostly by military officers, had grown to an alarming extent. The officers banded together and bought the rum brought from India, Brazil, and elsewhere, and then sold it at an enormous profit, sometimes as high as 500 per cent. Many settlers exchanged their crops for the rum and wasted the result of a year's labour on a week or so of riotous debauchery, and others bartered away their farms for liquor. Referring to this traffic by officers, Hunter, writing in 1796, says: "I heartily wish it were possible to knock it entirely up, or to establish some regulations for its limitation." Hunter attempted to lessen the evils of the traffic in spirits by issuing licences to a limited number of dealers. Those who dealt in spirits without a licence were in some instances punished by having their houses pulled down.

The Duke of Portland, then in charge of the Colonial Department, told Hunter that it was his duty to prohibit, *Restrictions on Liquor Trade.*

1798

by the most positive orders, all officers of the Government, whether civil or military, from selling any spirituous liquors to the convicts or settlers. Hunter was not prepared, however, to take such sweeping action. It was doubtful, indeed, whether he could have enforced such an order had he issued it. He did issue orders restricting the importation of spirits, but the main result was that smuggling was resorted to. There was one trial for smuggling, but in that case, although the military officers constituting the court found that there had been an attempt to land spirits contrary to the regulation, the accused men were acquitted on technical grounds.

*Monopolies*

In 1798 Hunter sanctioned an agreement between the military officers and some of the leading inhabitants, by which the purchase of imported goods was to be controlled. The arrangement was that, when a ship arrived, two officers were to act as agents for the purchase of the cargo on behalf of all the parties to the agreement, and that every individual should receive his due proportion of the goods so purchased. It was a co-operative undertaking as far as it went, but the business still remained virtually a monopoly in the hands of the few persons in the settlement possessed of capital, and they could charge the other inhabitants what they chose. In 1798 the settlers at the Field of Mars, in a petition to Hunter, stated that tobacco was bought by the wholesale dealers at from 8d. to 1s. 6d. a pound, but was never retailed at less than 5s., and at that moment cost from 10s. to 15s. a pound. Much the same was stated of other commodities. Hunter struggled, not very successfully, against this "profliteering," and the other abuses which had sprung up under the period of military domination in the days of Grose and Paterson. He came into violent conflict with Captain John Macarthur, honourably distinguished as the founder of the pastoral industry in Australia, but a man of violent and overbearing temper, and the protagonist of the military party.

Of Macarthur, Governor King wrote in 1801: "His employment during the last eleven years he has been here has been that of making a large fortune, helping his brother

1800

officers to make small ones (mostly at the public expense), and sowing discord and strife . . . the sums he has remitted Home, though they cannot be ascertained, yet, are considerable enough to make an officer such as myself happy."

In the end Hunter's opponents prevailed, and, in 1800,<sup>Governor King Attacks Problems.</sup> he was recalled. He went, superseded by Philip Gidley King, a naval officer who had come out with the First Fleet, and had been in command at Norfolk Island from 1788 to 1796, with the exception of about eighteen months. For nearly six years King struggled hard against the power of the military clique, but his success was very partial, though he was made of sterner stuff than Hunter. He began with an attack on the traffic in spirits. With characteristic audacity he forwarded to Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson what purported to be an article of His Majesty's instructions, but appears, in fact, to have been written by King himself. In this it is set out that no spirits were to be handed without a permit from the Governor, and that no officer was to traffic in spirits. Any who did so were to be tried by court-martial. King followed this up with a long series of orders about the traffic in spirits. The amount of spirits landed under King's rule would seem to have been ample for the small population. It has been calculated that during the first twenty-five months of King's rule 69,880 gallons of spirits and 33,626 gallons of wine were landed at Sydney. This was enough to provide for an average annual consumption of 5·75 gallons of spirits, and of about two and three-quarter gallons of wine for every man, woman, and child in the settlement. The present consumption is about a sixth of those figures, but it must be remembered that in King's day there were comparatively few women and children in the colony, and also that beer and other beverages were not available. It may also be pointed out that during the same period King refused permission for the landing of 37,961 gallons of spirits and 92,932 gallons of wine. Governor King held strongly that the making of beer available would diminish the excessive consumption of rum. In 1804 he established a Government brewery at Parramatta, afterwards leased to a private brewer. It is stated that very good

1801

beer was produced at this brewery, but it does not appear to have had much effect on the use of spirits. It is interesting to note that when the brewery was leased to Thomas Rushton in 1806, one of the stipulations was that Rushton was to deliver to the Government 200 gallons of strong beer a month for the use of convicts.

*State  
Trading and  
Customs  
Duties.*

But beer did not satisfy the thirst of the inhabitants of New South Wales, and, in spite of all Governor King's orders, the traffic in spirits continued for years to be one of the chief obstacles to the orderly progress of the settlement. With the abuses due to monopolistic trading in other articles he was more successful. He continued, and greatly extended, the policy of importing stocks of goods on Government account in transports. These were bartered with the settlers, who supplied grain and meat to the Government stores at rates covering the original cost, plus handling costs and a small margin of profit. By this means King was able to check the excessive profits which had previously been obtained by private traders. King established the first Customs duties levied in Australia; he imposed, in 1802, a 5 per cent. *ad valorem* duty on all goods imported from countries to the east of the Cape of Good Hope, and also on all other goods not of British manufacture. A duty of 1s. a gallon was also imposed on spirits and wines.

*Macarthur  
and the  
Military  
Party.*

With John Macarthur, the leader of the military party, King was at loggerheads throughout his government. In an official despatch written in 1801, King states that only a sense of public duty had prevented him from challenging Macarthur to a duel, and that his predecessor Hunter had sent a challenge to Macarthur, who declined it. Macarthur and several other military officers ostentatiously withdrew from all social and official intercourse with the Governor, and tried to persuade the Lieutenant-Governor Paterson, then in command of the New South Wales Corps, to follow the same course. The result of Paterson's refusal, and of a further quarrel between himself and Macarthur, was a duel with pistols in which Macarthur shot Paterson in the shoulder. Macarthur was arrested and sent to England. "If ever Captain Macarthur returns to this

1805

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colony I shall feel much for its concerns," wrote King. "Half of it belongs to him already, and he will very soon get the other half." Return he did, however, in 1805, and then a kind of truce was patched up between himself and King. While in England Macarthur had interested the authorities in his ideas for building up the production of fine wool in Australia. He was given a grant of 5,000 acres of land at Camden, and King sold to him 100 of the finest woolled ewes in the Government flocks, in addition to which he already owned a third of the sheep then in Australia, including most of the fine woolled ones.

Nevertheless, King's troubles with the military party generally continued throughout the period of his rule, and finally he applied for leave of absence. He left New South Wales in 1806, broken in health and discouraged, and died in 1808.

King was succeeded by another Cornishman, Captain *"Bounty"* William Bligh, the last of the naval Governors. The increasing importance of New South Wales, which had advanced greatly under King, was reflected in the increase of the Governor's salary from £1,000 to £2,000 a year. Bligh was a man of humble birth, gifted with ability, intelligence, and force of character, but of a violent and somewhat quarrelsome disposition. He had worked his way up from the lowest rank in the Navy, and served as master of the *Resolution* in Cook's third and last voyage. Later he came into almost world-wide notoriety as captain of the *Bounty*, when the crew mutinied and returned to Tahiti, setting Bligh, and those who remained loyal to him, adrift in an open boat in which they made a voyage of 3,600 miles through Torres Strait and past the north coast of Australia to Koepang in Timor. It was perhaps the most wonderful boat voyage in the history of the world. It was alleged at the time, and has often been repeated since, that the mutiny was caused by Bligh's harshness and cruelty, but this view is not borne out by the facts.

In 1791-1793 Bligh made another voyage to Tahiti and brought back to the West Indies the bread-fruit plants which were the object of his unfortunate first voyage.

1807

Later, he saw much service at sea and fought under Nelson at Copenhagen. Bligh was a Fellow of the Royal Society, a man of considerable attainments and of varied knowledge, and a friend of Sir Joseph Banks, to whose recommendation he owed his position as Governor. There is no reason to doubt that the authorities in England considered that a firm hand was needed in New South Wales, and that Bligh was chosen as a strict disciplinarian, and as one who might break the power of the military ring at Sydney. Bligh did his best, but it was he who was broken.

Bligh could hardly be more arbitrary and autocratic than his predecessors, especially King. In those early days the Governor, subject to the distant and ineffective control of the authorities in England, did very much what seemed good in his own eyes. But he was rude and more overbearing in his manner, and amongst the first acts of his Governorship, too, was one which bore a somewhat sinister aspect. Before he gave up the reins of Government King granted to Bligh three areas of land, including 1,245 acres in all, and shortly afterwards Bligh granted to Mrs. King 700 acres bearing the strange and significant name of "Thanks." The causes which led to Bligh's downfall must, however, be sought elsewhere than in these transactions.

Early in 1807 Bligh prohibited absolutely the use of spirits as currency, under severe penalties. This struck at the root of the prosperity of many influential men, military officers and others. At that time labourers were paid in rum; rum was bartered for grain stock and other goods. Officers and officials bartered spirits at great profit to themselves, and were in no mind to forgo those profits. Another action of Bligh's, which aroused much opposition, was his inquiry into the land-tenures in Sydney; he found irregularities in some of the leases, including one granted to Macarthur, and cancelled them. It was, however, another aspect of the liquor question that produced the final clash between Bligh and Macarthur, and led directly to that unique episode in British colonial history, the "Rum Rebellion." A whaler, the *Dart*, of which Macarthur was part owner, brought to Macarthur a still for distilling spirits. Bligh ordered the still

The  
Autocratic  
Governors.

Bligh's  
Attack on  
Liquor  
Trade.

1807

to be sent back to England, but Macarthur sought to retain for his own use the copper boilers, giving up the worms, without which distillation was impossible. Bligh would not hear of this compromise. The naval officer sent his nephew to seize the coppers, and Macarthur then brought an action for wrongful seizure, and gained a verdict on the technical ground that the naval officer should have superintended the removal of the still in person instead of by proxy.

The next cause of quarrel throws an interesting sidelight *A Convict's Escape.* on the precautions taken to prevent the escape of convicts from the colony. Macarthur owned a schooner, the *Parramatta*, which traded to the South Seas, and, like other ship-owners, he and his partner, Garnham Blexell, had given security to the extent of £800 that no person would be allowed to leave the colony in the vessel without the Governor's sanction. Early in 1807 one John Hoare, who had been transported for life, stowed himself away on the *Parramatta* and reached Tahiti, whence he escaped to India. When the schooner returned to Sydney the naval officer sued for the amount of the security, and the court ruled that the bonds had been forfeited. Macarthur appealed, and in the meantime the naval officer placed two police officers in charge of the *Parramatta*. Macarthur replied by abandoning the vessel, telling the master and crew that they could no longer look to him for pay or provisions.

Acting under instructions from Bligh, the Judge-Advocate, Richard Atkins, wrote a letter calling on Macarthur to appear before him and to answer for his conduct. This Macarthur refused to do, and next day Atkins issued a warrant for his arrest. This was clearly wrong, as no legal summons to attend the court had been served on Macarthur. But Atkins, on Bligh's own evidence, was quite unfit for his position. He was not only ignorant of the law, relying largely on the advice of a convict attorney, but given to intoxication, loose-tongued and unreliable. He also owed Macarthur money, which he refused to pay. Macarthur refused to obey the warrant, remarking that Bligh and his friends would soon make a rope to hang themselves. The next day a bench of magistrates, including Major

*Warrant for  
Macarthur's  
Arrest.*

1808

George Johnston, who was to play the leading part in the deposition of Bligh, issued a second warrant. Macarthur was committed for trial and admitted to bail.

The criminal court, consisting of the Judge-Advocate and six military officers, met on January 25, 1808. It seems probable that by this time Macarthur and other members of the military party had already decided on the deposition of Bligh. As soon as the court met, Macarthur entered a protest against the Judge-Advocate, one of his grounds being that Atkins was bound to press for a verdict of "Guilty," because otherwise he would be prosecuted on a charge of authorising the wrongful arrest of Macarthur. Atkins, terrified by the threatening appearance of the soldiers who crowded into the court, withdrew after stating that there could be no court without him. The other members of the court remanded Macarthur. Early next morning Macarthur was arrested and lodged in gaol on a charge of escaping from the custody of the Provost-Marshal. The military members of the court met and protested against this action.

*The "Rum Rebellion."*

In the afternoon Bligh summoned them to appear before him next morning to answer to charges of treason and usurpation of the government. This gave Macarthur and his friends the excuse which they needed, and Major Johnston, the senior officer of the New South Wales Corps, came into Sydney from his farm four miles out on the Parramatta Road. Johnston, an officer who had shown coolness and resolution in difficult circumstances at the time of the Castle Hill Rebellion, an unsuccessful rising of Irish convicts in 1804, found that a crowd of soldiers and others had gathered near the Barracks while Bligh's supporters were conferring at Government House, and Johnston ordered the liberation of Macarthur, who at once drew up a letter asserting that "every man's property, liberty, and life is endangered," and imploring Johnston to arrest Bligh and assume the government. This letter bears 151 signatures, but it is certain that most of these were signed after the arrest. Johnston, believing, as he said, that there was danger of bloodshed, acceded to the request, and advanced on Govern-

ment House at the head of his troops. With colours flying and the band playing the "British Grenadiers," the soldiers went forward. Bligh's supporters were few and unarmed, and there was no resistance. Bligh's daughter, Mrs. Putland, attempted to hold the door against the assailants, but she was put aside. After some search, Bligh was—according to Johnston—"discovered in a situation too disgraceful to be mentioned." A lance-corporal named Marlborough swore that he found Bligh hidden under a bed and dragged him forth; and a picture illustrating the "interesting scene," as Johnston calls it, was exhibited in Sydney. The truth seems to be that Bligh was anxious to hide some papers from the rebels, and was caught while he was attempting to dispose of them.

Bligh was kept under arrest. The officials who remained loyal to him were suspended or dismissed and replaced by supporters of the revolt. Macarthur himself became secretary to the colony, without salary, and its virtual ruler. Johnston himself was disposed to use his usurped power with moderation. In July, 1808, he was superseded in the administration by Lieutenant-Colonel Foveaux, his superior officer, who had returned from England. He in turn gave place to Lieutenant-Governor Paterson, who had come to Sydney from Port Dalrymple, on January 1, 1809. Bligh was kept in confinement until February, 1809, when he was allowed to embark for England. Instead of doing so he went to Tasmania, where he tried in vain to secure the support of Lieutenant-Governor Collins, and he did not return to England till after the arrival of his successor Governor Macquarie, at Sydney. Johnston and Macarthur went to England. Johnston was tried by court-martial, found guilty of mutiny in extenuating circumstances, and cautioned. He returned to New South Wales and lived quietly on his farm until his death in 1823. Macarthur was not allowed to return to Australia until 1817, and after that he devoted himself to the management of his estates, and took no part in public life. Bligh was promoted to Rear-Admiral on his return to England, but was not again employed. He died in 1817.

*Rule of the Rebels.*

1808

*New South  
Wales Corps  
Recalled.*

Small as was its scale and personal as its motives largely were, the rebellion against Bligh had far-reaching results. The New South Wales Corps, which had become the most powerful factor in the colony, was recalled after seventeen years and replaced by detachments of British regular troops. By a happy accident the military officer appointed to succeed Bligh as Governor was a great man, and he really laid the foundations of Australia. Though Bligh had failed in his immediate purpose, the military oligarchy overshot the mark, and their revolt ended in the eventual breaking of their power, which might have endured much longer but for this dramatic incident.

## CHAPTER IV

### AUSTRALIA AS A CONVICT COLONY

AUSTRALIA was founded as a penal settlement, and for many years the main importance of the colony in the eyes of the British Government was that it was a convenient receptacle for those who had offended against the laws. — *The Penal System.* From first to last, from 1788 to 1867, when the system was finally abolished, 137,161 persons were transported from the British Isles to Australia. Of these 59,778 were sent to New South Wales between 1788 and 1836; 67,655 were sent to Van Diemen's Land (now Tasmania) in the half-century from 1803 to 1853; and 9,718 were landed in Western Australia, the last stronghold of the system, between 1850 and 1867. Although a considerable number of women convicts were transported, the great majority were men. Amongst the 59,778 transported to New South Wales, 51,082 were men and 8,696 women, while 56,042 men and 11,613 women were sent to Tasmania. The prisoners sent to Western Australia were all men.

It was the accumulation of prisoners in the English "Loyalist" gaols and hulks, due to the closing of the United States to *Proposal Falls Through.* transportation, which led directly to the foundation of Australia, and so the Australian colonies reproduced to some extent the conditions under which the convicts had furnished a labour force in America. It is true that the proposal to transfer the American loyalists to Australia, where they would work the land with convict labourers, came to nothing. A few American loyalists did come to Australia. Thus it is recorded of James Reid, who came out in 1791 as a superintendent of convicts, that he had been a planter in America. But the number was negligible. The system followed differed somewhat, too, from that pursued in earlier days, when the services of the transportees were

1790

*How the  
System  
Worked.*

sold to contractors who then put them up to auction in America.

In the case of Australia the Governor had a property in the services of the convicts for the term of their sentence. The majority of the sentences were for seven or fourteen years, but a large number were for life. On their arrival in the colony the Governor "assigned" the services of the convict to a settler. For most purposes the convict became the slave of the man to whom he was assigned. In the very early days of the colony, the assigned servants were both clothed and fed by the Government. The home authorities protested strongly against this, and pointed out, very reasonably, that in many cases where assigned servants were engaged in farming, the Government fed and clothed them, and then paid their employers a good price for the grain produced by their labour. Later the employer was bound to feed and clothe his assigned servants. He also gave them small wages, paid usually, not in cash, but in kind—in tea, sugar, spirits, and other allowances. As the colonies developed, the payment of some kind of wages became a more or less settled custom. Thus, in Van Diemen's Land in 1827 an order was issued that assigned men who worked "from daylight to dark" in reaping the harvest should be paid 1s. 6d. a day.

In the very early days of New South Wales the field of employment was very limited. Practically the only employment outside Government works was the cultivation of small areas, the produce of which was usually sold to the Government stores. As population grew, and the colony made progress, convicts were employed in all kinds of capacities. There were convict mechanics of all kinds, and some of them even engaged in trade and in the professions. At all times the Government retained a certain number of men for employment on buildings and on other Government works. These men were usually given a certain amount of time in which they could work for themselves. Some of the men to whom convicts were assigned, nicknamed "slave-dealers," used to allow the convicts to "be on their own hands," or to work all the time for themselves on

condition that they handed over to their masters a portion 1790 of their earnings.

The actual transportation of convicts was carried out *The "Middle Passage."* in merchant ships (hired for the purpose). In the very early days the shipowners received so much per head—between £20 and £30 for each convict received on board. It was to their advantage to carry as many as possible, and the small sailing-ships then used were shockingly crowded for a voyage which might last anything from five months to nearly a year. Of the 502 convicts shipped on the *Neptune* in 1790, 158 died on the passage, and the rest were landed in a wretched state. In 1802 there was a change of system, under which conditions were much improved. The convicts were sent out in ships fitted up for the purpose, with a naval surgeon as superintendent, who received a bonus of so much per head for each convict safely landed.

It is notable that although from first to last some 150,000 convicts were transported to Australia, there were no cases of successful mutiny by convicts on ships between England and Australia. In several cases convicts being carried from one port in Australia to another rose on their guards, seized the vessel and made good their escape, but on the longer voyage there was not one instance of this. There were some attempted risings, but they were all suppressed. It is true that one convict transport was lost as the result of a mutiny, but this was not the result of a convict rising. In 1797 some of the soldiers and sailors on the transport *Jane Shore*, instigated, no doubt, by the female convicts whom the vessel carried, rose in mutiny, shot the captain, and turned adrift in the boats all those who would not join them, and carried the vessel into Monte Video.

When a transport arrived in Australia most of the *Assignment of Convicts.* prisoners on board were at once assigned to settlers and others who applied for them. When the labour market was dull there would be a demand for a part only of them; at other times they were over-applied for. An assigned servant who did not get into trouble would never be placed in prison, except in so far as the whole colony was a gaol.

1827

On the other hand, those who were convicted of again breaking the law were put to work in chains on the roads or elsewhere, or sent to the outstations for twice-convicted prisoners, where the discipline was usually very severe, and the lash and the triangles ever ready to punish offenders. These conditions, however, did not apply universally. In 1827 Governor Darling found to his intense surprise that at Port Macquarie, a place of secondary punishment, over £2,000 a year was spent in providing luxuries for the prisoners, with the sole purpose, he declares, of keeping them quiet. Darling soon altered this, and Port Macquarie ceased to have any attractions for convicts.

*Treatment of Prisoners.* In any general estimate of the treatment and position of convicts in Australia, it must be remembered that the times were harsh and brutal. There was much cruelty and harshness in the colonies, and especially in the places of secondary exile; but so there was also in Great Britain. In the year 1800 there were over two hundred offences in the criminal code punishable by death, and many of these would now be considered very venial. Judges were wont to exercise the privilege of giving sentences of transportation instead of condemning the prisoners to execution. In the case of very many convicts, there is no doubt that the change was for the better. They were better fed and clothed than they had been in England or Ireland, and very many of them, by dint of hard work and good behaviour, escaped all further trouble with the law, became in due time "free by servitude," and lived honest and useful lives. Of the value of their services to the new colony there can be no doubt. They cleared the land and tilled the ground, made roads and erected buildings, many of which still stand after a century or more to bear witness to the good workmanship of the convict labourers. Convicts were employed on difficult and dangerous missions, and, encouraged by the hope of freedom, did splendid service. Thus, Flinders, when engaged in exploring the coast of Australia in the *Investigator*, selected nine convicts to make up his crew. Eight of the men who accompanied Captain Sturt in his wonderful boat voyage down the Murray in 1830 were convicts,

and the same is true of the six men who went with Hume and Howell on their remarkable overland journey to Port Phillip in 1824-1825, and of the men who served under Sir Thomas Mitchell and other explorers.

1824-1825

On the other hand, the employment of convicts in such positions as the subordinate posts in the Government service gave rise to many difficulties. Governor Darling complained that all the Government clerks were convicts, and that one of them had been transported three times. One common trick of the convict clerks was to alter the dates of conviction of transportees, so as to shorten their term of servitude, and this was done in return for a bribe or out of friendship; in other cases, as an act of spite, the term was lengthened. As late as 1827 we find an instance in Hobart town in which a convict clerk shortened a friend's term of imprisonment by three years, by altering the figures 1823 to 1820.

*Convicts as  
Government  
Clerks.*

While the great bulk of the convicts were drawn from England and Ireland, others flowed in from all sorts of odd corners. "Black Cæsar," one of the earliest convicts to take to the bush and become a bushranger, was a negro. The vineyard planted by the Macarthurs at Camden was put in charge of Greeks, who had been transported from the Ionian Islands for piracy. Earlier still, in 1800, two French prisoners-of-war had been sent to New South Wales to establish a vineyard, an enterprise in which they were not very successful. Offenders against the law in India were sent to New South Wales; an example is afforded by G. B. Bellasis, a military officer, favoured and employed by Governor King, who was transported for killing his opponent in a duel. Later, soldiers guilty of military offences at the Cape of Good Hope and in Canada were sent to Van Diemen's Land.

*Men from  
Many Lands.*

Mixed with the crowds of thieves, poachers, and minor offenders were many desperate and hardened villains, highwaymen, pirates, burglars, criminals such as Thomas Griffiths Wainewright, the friend of Charles Lamb, equally skilful with pen, pencil, and poison; he was described by Oscar Wilde as a "forger of no mean or ordinary capabilities,

*Some  
Remarkable  
Transportees.*

1793

and as a subtle and skilful poisoner perhaps unequalled in this or any other age." There were, too, large numbers of men who were not criminals in the ordinary sense of the word, but were rebels and political exiles. In its first dozen years the colony received a number of prisoners who were sent out on the ground that they were trying to subvert the existing order of things. The first of these were the so-called Scottish "martyrs," Muir, Palmer, Skirving, Margarot, and Gerald, who were transported in 1793 as a result of their admiration of the French Revolution, and of their supposed desire to bring about a similar revolution in Great Britain. These martyrs were well treated in New South Wales, and were, in fact, not dealt with as convicts. Some of them even had convicts assigned to them. Muir escaped in 1796 in an American vessel, the *Otter* of Boston, which called at Sydney on its way to the north-west coast of America. After many adventures amongst the Indians Muir worked his way down the coast to Mexico, and finally reached France, but only to die. Palmer, after working out his seven years, bought a vessel and went trading in the Pacific. After suffering shipwreck he reached Guam in the Ladrone Islands, where the Spaniards made him a prisoner-of-war. He died in captivity. Skirving and Gerald died in Sydney. Margarot, who was neither Scottish nor a martyr, but a malignant, intriguing scoundrel, was a thorn in the side of successive Governors, who treated him with wonderful forbearance, and he lived to return to England.

*The "United Irishmen."*

Far more important were the Irish convicts who were poured into the colony as the result of the rebellion of 1798, and of the troubles which succeeded and followed it. By 1803 there were some 2,000 of these Irish convicts in New South Wales, forming nearly half the able-bodied men. It was from them alone that any serious danger to the government of the colony came. As early as 1800 there were plots at Parramatta. Captain John Macarthur's remarks in reply to a letter from King, directing him to keep a sharp look-out, show incidentally one of the troubles of an officer of the New South Wales Corps. He says: "It may not be improper to observe that this being the day

on which my company receive their month's pay, many of them will most probably be drunk to-morrow." To Macarthur's delighted surprise they were all sober next day with three exceptions. The influence of the discontented Irish extended even to the remote Norfolk Island. In 1801 the Lieutenant-Governor Foveaux, acting on the statements of an informer, seized thirty convicts. King formed the settlers into a volunteer "Association."

Apart from their general hatred of the British Government and all belonging to it, the Irish convicts had in many cases a legitimate grievance which rankled in their minds. No information as to the nature and length of the sentences of a large number of them was available in the colony. Governor King sought to obtain it, and the reply was that many had been transported as the result of trials by court-martial or of the exercise of summary jurisdiction by magistrates, and that there were no records of the exact nature of the sentence. The visit of the French exploring expedition under Baudin to Sydney, in 1802, gave new heart to the rebels. The very presence of the French was a reminder that the great enemy of Great Britain, Napoleon Bonaparte, was striving to humble "perfidious Albion." And while the behaviour of Baudin and of most of his officers was strictly correct, there is reason to doubt if this were so in the case of Peron and Freycinet, who did certainly act as spies, and drew up plans for the best means of attacking Sydney. "At the news of a French invasion," wrote Peron, "every Irish arm in the colony would be raised."

Early in March, 1804, the long-plotted rebellion broke *The Castle Hill Rising.* out. On the night of March 4 the Irish convicts employed at Castle Hill and Toongabbie, near Parramatta, rose in revolt. Governor King hastened to Parramatta, and proclaimed martial law throughout the adjoining districts. The situation was saved by the coolness and courage of Major Johnston of the New South Wales Corps, the officer who later deposed Bligh. The rebels marched towards the Hawkesbury, where they expected to be joined by numbers of convicts. Johnston pursued them with about sixty soldiers and a few volunteers, and after a march of ten miles

*Irish  
Convicts and  
the French  
Visit.*

1804

caught up with the rebels, whose numbers he estimated at 400. They had a few muskets, but were armed mainly with home-made pikes, bayonets on poles, reaping hooks, pitchforks and other tools. Johnston rode forward with a trooper and a Catholic priest named Dixon, and called on the rebels to halt, saying that he wished to speak to their leaders. Two men named Cunningham and Johnston came forward and were urged to surrender, Major Johnston saying that he would plead for them with the Governor. Cunningham replied with the cry "Death or Liberty," on which Johnston and the trooper put their pistols to the heads of the two rebel leaders, and forced them back to the detachment of troops. The soldiers then charged the leaderless rebels, who offered but little resistance. Twelve convicts were killed and six wounded, while twenty were made prisoners. Ten rebels were hanged, many were flogged "at the discretion of the magistrates and according to the opinion of the surgeons of the number of lashes they can bear without endangering their lives," while numbers were sent to the out-settlements. Amongst the last was Joseph Holt, once "General" of the Wicklow rebels, who was sent first to Norfolk Island, and later to Van Diemen's Land. So ended the only convict rebellion, as apart from sporadic outbreaks of mutiny, that ever occurred in Australia.

*Escapes from Captivity.* As long as the convict system endured, there were continual escapes and attempts to escape from the colony. In all hundreds, probably thousands, of convicts made their way overseas. Hundreds more perished in the attempt. As early as September, 1790, five men, led by John Tarwood, stole a boat at Parramatta and fled. They were shipwrecked at Port Stephens, and four of them brought back to Sydney in 1795, after living for five years amongst the savages. In 1791 William Bryant, his wife and two children, and seven other convicts, stole a boat and actually made their way right round the east and north coasts of Australia, and reached Timor after a voyage of 3,000 miles. At first the Dutch authorities believed their story that they were survivors from a shipwrecked vessel;

but the truth leaked out, and the Governor handed them over to Captain Edwards of H.M.S. *Pandora*, whose vessel had been wrecked near Torres Strait, and who had reached Timor in an open boat. Bryant, the two children, and three of the men, died before reaching England. Mary Bryant and the four men who survived stood their trial. The woman was given a free pardon, and the men ordered to serve out their original sentence in Newgate. One of them, John Butcher, afterwards returned to New South Wales and became a small farmer there.

As early as 1791 the strange but long-persistent delusion "*Overland to China.*" that China could be reached by land became strongly fixed amongst the more ignorant and reckless of the Irish convicts. Others believed that somewhere in the interior was a settlement of white people, and many were the attempts to reach this mythical El Dorado. Scores of convicts died of hunger, exhaustion, or thirst in the bush or amongst the ravines of the Blue Mountains, and many more returned ragged and starving. But in spite of this the attempts went on, and the belief was held by many that those who failed to return had actually reached China or some other place of rest and refuge. In 1798 Governor Hunter personally addressed a party of twenty Irishmen who had been arrested as they were setting out for China. "Some of these fellows," says Hunter, "had been provided with a figure of a compass drawn on paper which, with written instructions, was to have assisted them as their guide." Finding that he could not dissuade them from their purpose, Hunter selected four of the strongest, and sent them out with some soldiers to explore the route. They soon returned "most completely sick of their journey."

But attempts at escape, more particularly by sea, continued. When Bass was near Wilson's Promontory, 500 miles by sea from Sydney, he found there seven convicts who had been marooned on an island by seven others, with whom they had stolen a boat from Broken Bay. Bass took two in his whaleboat, and put the other five on shore. They were never heard of again. The first successful "cutting

*Escapes by Sea.*

1808

out" of a vessel on a large scale occurred in 1808, during the period of usurpation. Between forty and fifty convicts headed by one Stewart, formerly a Lieutenant in the Navy, seized the 180-ton brig *Harrington* and got clear away. But off the coast of Luzon, one of the Philippine Islands, they fell in with H.M.S. *Déaigneuse*. The runaways showed fight, but were forced to run the *Harrington* ashore. Stewart and most of his companions escaped, and several years later it was said that they were still at large "in the interior parts of India."

For years afterwards the seizure of small vessels by convicts was fairly frequent. In most cases they came to grief, but some were never caught. In 1829 a party of convicts who were being sent from Hobart to the Macquarie Harbour Settlement (known to them as "Hell"), on the brig *Cyprus*, rose, headed by a seaman named Swallow, overpowered their guards, put them on shore, and sailed away. They reached Japan, where seven of them stayed. The others went to Canton, where the truth leaked out. They were sent to London and tried. Swallow and others returned to Van Diemen's Land. Three years later the convicts on the *Frederick*, bound from Macquarie Harbour to Hobart, seized the vessel and escaped in her to Chile. They settled at Valdivia, and became prosperous and respected citizens.

*Runaways  
amongst the  
Islands.*

Many convicts escaped as stowaways in vessels, often by the connivance of the masters, who found them useful. Most of the many American vessels which touched at Australian ports in those days seem to have taken away convicts, and so did many British ships, whalers and others. In one case the captain of an 800-ton vessel which was wrecked on the coast of New Zealand gravely admitted that thirty-five convicts had found means to smuggle themselves away on his ship. Amasa Delano, an intelligent and engaging scoundrel, who commanded an American sealer which visited Hobart and Bass Strait in 1803-1804, took with him seventeen convicts from the Bass Strait sailing gangs. Runaway convicts were found in New Zealand and in many of the Pacific Islands, where some of

them attained to greatness as Prime Ministers of the savage potentates of Fiji and other cannibal islands. Little can be said about the moral and material improvements due to the influence of these convict beachcombers, "tonguers," and others, on the savages amongst whom they settled.

## CHAPTER V

### EARLY EXPLORATION AND DEVELOPMENT

1789

*Early  
Efforts at  
Exploration.*

DURING the first twenty-five years after the founding of Sydney exploration was carried out almost entirely by sea. At the end of that period Australia presented the unique case of a continent of which the whole coast-line had been at least roughly mapped while the interior was utterly unknown. No white men had penetrated as much as 100 miles inland from the coast. Down the whole eastern side of Australia at no great distance from the coast runs a series of mountain ranges, tablelands, and elevated country. The watershed is everywhere at no great distance from the coast, and the steep edge of the tablelands is towards the coast; while on the west comparatively gentle slopes lead down to the plains of the interior. It so happens that immediately to the west of Sydney lie some of the most rugged, though not the highest, portions of these uplands. The crest of the ranges is between 3,000 and 4,000 feet in height, but the eastern slopes are excessively broken and rugged, covered with scrub and forest and offering little food for man and beast. The valleys, instead of affording a route through the ranges, usually lead into culs-de-sac, ringed in by huge sandstone cliffs. Had the first settlement been at Newcastle, which is less than 100 miles further north, the case would have been different. Behind Newcastle the Cassilis Gap, the only place for 800 miles from north to south, from the Darling Downs in Queensland to Kilmore in Victoria, where the watershed falls below 2,000 feet, offers a comparatively easy route to the interior.

*The  
Mountain  
Barrier.*

As early as 1789, Lieutenant Dawes, the astronomer to the settlement, explored the foot-hills west of Parramatta and pronounced the ravines impassable. During an attempt

1794

in 1794 Henry Hacking, a sailor, penetrated "twenty miles further than any other European" had yet gone. In 1796 George Bass, who was to become famous as an explorer by sea, attacked the mountains, but with little success. More success attended an expedition led in 1799 by John Wilson, an ex-convict, who had lived much amongst the natives. There is good reason to suppose that Wilson did actually cross the watershed and reach the headwaters of a tributary of one of the western rivers. If so his discovery had no immediate results. Doubts have been thrown on the genuineness of the reports of this journey, because it was stated that in one place, west of Prospect Hill, the explorers found veins of salt. Recently, however, the correctness of this statement has been proved. Ensign Francis Barallier, an officer of considerable scientific attainments, made an attack on the mountains in 1802. Amongst his party were two natives. From his map and descriptions it appears probable that he reached the headwaters of a tributary of the Lachlan, one of the western streams; but the nature of the country which he reached was not such as to encourage further enterprise in that direction. George Caley, a collector of botanical specimens for Sir Joseph Banks, tried to cross the mountains further north in 1805. With "four of the strongest men in the colony" in his party, Caley worked his way west for twelve days, but his report led King to write: "I cannot help thinking that persevering in crossing these mountains, which are a confused and barren assemblage of mountains with impassable chasms between, would be as chimerical as useless."

For the next eight years no serious attempt was made to overcome the mountain barrier. After all, it formed a useful wall to the gaol; for the colony was virtually a prison, shut in on one side by the sea and on the other by impassable ranges. There was land enough on the eastern side for the few people and their small flocks and herds. In 1810 the population was still only 11,590; there were 12,442 cattle, 25,888 sheep, and 1,134 horses grazing in New South Wales. But the sheep and cattle were increasing fast, and there was soon felt a need for more pasture-land.

1813

*Crossing of  
the Blue  
Mountains.*

On May 11, 1813, three explorers, Lieutenant Lawson, Gregory Blaxland, a large landowner, and William Charles Wentworth, a youth of twenty, who had been born at Norfolk Island, and afterwards played a great part in the political history of New South Wales, set out with four servants, four horses, four dogs, and six weeks' provisions, to solve the mystery of what lay beyond the mountains. They kept as far as possible on the summits of the ridges between the river valley and worked slowly westward, often having to cut their way through the scrub and underwood. After eight days they came to a cairn of stones, which afterwards was assumed to mark the furthest point reached by their predecessor Caley, and on May 28 they passed beyond Mount York and came to a country where there was again grass for the horses. Three days later they reached fine open timbered country, well grassed, and turned back, knowing that they had reached the long-sought country beyond the mountains. "The boundless champaign burst upon our sight," one of them, Wentworth, wrote three years later, in an unsuccessful attempt to win a prize for verse at Cambridge.

Governor Macquarie sent G. W. Evans, a surveyor, in November, 1813, to follow up the discovery thus made. Evans pushed on beyond to the fertile plains of Bathurst, and found country equal, as he somewhat shortsightedly prophesied, "to every demand which this colony may have for extension of tillage and pasture for a century to come." A road was soon built, and Bathurst became the starting-point for new expeditions into the interior.

*Filling in the  
Coastline.*

Before discussing these attempts the results of early exploration by sea may be given briefly. As early as 1796 some fishermen had put into the mouth of the Hunter River, which Lieutenant Shortland visited in the following year. Even before that a whaler had discovered Jervis Bay in 1791, and H.M.S. *Providence*, making the coast a little too far to the north, had examined the shores of Port Stephens in 1795. More extended surveys were due to the courage, enterprise, and skill of two officers of the *Reliance*, George Bass, the surgeon, and Matthew Flinders, a Lieutenant.

In a boat eight feet long, called *Tom Thumb*, with a boy for crew, they had examined, in 1795 and 1796, George's River and the coast to the south of Botany Bay. Bass discovered coal, which has since become one of the main sources of the wealth of New South Wales.

In 1797 attention was directed to the southern coast. The existence of Bass Strait, already suspected by Hunter and others, was as yet not proved, and Van Diemen's Land was popularly considered a southward extension of the continent. In 1797 a ship named the *Sydney Cove*, bound from India to Port Jackson, was wrecked on one of the islands of the Cape Barren group, at the eastern end of the Strait. Clarke, the supercargo, and sixteen others set out for Sydney in the longboat, but the boat was wrecked on what is now called the Ninety Mile Beach in Eastern Victoria, and her wretched crew set out to walk along the coast, over 300 miles, through unknown country, to Sydney. Some fell by the wayside of starvation and exposure, some were killed by blacks, and only Clarke, one European seaman, and a lascar, reached a point south of Sydney, where they were picked up by a fishing boat. Flinders gained permission to go down to the scene of the wreck in the colonial cutter *Francis*. While he was on this voyage, Bass, in a whaleboat, manned by naval volunteers, went along the coast round Wilson's Promontory, and reached Westernport on the Victorian coast; he gave it this rather inappropriate name because it was the most western point that he reached. Bass had been hindered by bad weather, and lack of provisions prevented him from going beyond Westernport. He was convinced that there was an open ocean to the westward by the mountainous sea which rolled in from that quarter, and because no land was discoverable in that direction. "We had," wrote Hunter, "much reason to conclude that there is an open strait through." In later years Flinders, no mean judge, wrote thus of the exploit of his lost friend:

"A voyage, expressly undertaken for discovery in an open boat, and in which 600 miles of coast was explored, has not, perhaps, its equal in the annals of maritime history. It now appeared that there wanted no other proof of the

*Whaleboat Voyage of Bass.*

1798

*Discovery  
of Bass  
Strait.*

existence of a passage between New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land than that of sailing positively through it."

Before the end of 1798 Hunter gave Bass and Flinders the opportunity of providing that proof. On October 7, they left Sydney in the *Norfolk*, a 25-ton sloop built at Norfolk Island. She was manned by eight naval volunteers and carried twelve weeks' provisions. With her as far as Kent Island in Cape Barren group sailed the brig *Nautilus* under Captain Bishop, the pioneer of the sealing trade in Bass Strait. The *Norfolk* entered Port Dalrymple on the north coast of Van Diemen's Land, where Bass and Flinders explored the estuary of the Tamar. Then a gale drove them back to Cape Barren, but they pushed westward, and on December 9 they rounded Cape Grim, and entered the open ocean which washes the western coast of Van Diemen's Land. The *Norfolk* ran down this stormy coast, beaten upon by huge waves that roll half round the world, along the south coast of Tasmania, and into the estuary of the Derwent in the south-east. Food was running short when they left the Derwent, and they ran straight to Sydney.

*The  
Schooner  
"Martha."*

It is possible, however, that Bass and Flinders were not the discoverers of Bass Strait. In a note written in 1803 Governor King states that King Island was first seen by William Reid (or Reed) in the *Martha* in 1798. The *Martha* was a little 30-ton schooner built at Sydney, and engaged in sealing in the strait. It has been mentioned that Bass and Flinders rounded Cape Grim, and so proved the existence of Bass Strait on December 9, 1798. If King is correct, Reid had reached King Island, at the western mouth of the strait, in the same year, and possibly earlier than December 9. It is unlikely that he reached the island by rounding the south of Tasmania. Unfortunately, there is no register extant of shipping clearing and entering at Sydney for any date earlier than 1799, so that no means remain of checking the accuracy of King's statement or fixing the possible date of the *Martha*'s visit. Probably the question will never be solved, but it gives an interesting hint of the way in which sealers and whalers pushed out into the unknown.

The authorities in England showed their interest in the

work which Bass and Flinders had carried out, as volunteers, by sending out in 1800 a 60-ton brig, the *Lady Nelson*, commanded by Lieutenant James Grant. She was fitted with three sliding centreboard keels, the invention of Captain Schanck, to enable her to navigate in shallow water, and did good service in many capacities on the Australian coast till she was taken by Malay pirates near Timor Laut in 1825.

1800

*Grant on  
the South  
Coast.*

When Grant sailed, the southern coast of Australia was entirely unknown between the head of the Great Australian Bight and Westernport, the furthest point reached by Bass in his whaleboat voyage. From King George's Sound, which Vancouver had visited in 1791, to the head of the bight, the coast was known from the voyage of Nuyts and his Dutch companions in 1627. Grant was instructed to pass through Bass Strait on his way to Sydney. Grant was not a highly skilled navigator, nor was he very enterprising. He fell in with the coast near Cape Northumberland, not far from the border-line between Victoria and South Australia, and followed it to Westernport; but his mapping of it was very rough.

He missed the entrance to Port Phillip, though he named *Port Phillip*. the bight, at the head of which the entrance lies, Governor King's Bay. The old idea which found expression in the instructions given to Tasman in 1643, that there might be a channel from the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria to the Southern seas, still held its ground in the minds of some, and King sent Grant to survey Westernport, and to explore the coast to the westward to see whether the indentation which had been described was the entrance to the strait. Grant did little, however, and was soon replaced by John Murray. In February 2, 1802, Murray's mate, James Bowen, entered Port Phillip in the ship's boat, and on February 15 Murray sailed the *Lady Nelson* into the bay. He took formal possession of the place, and hoisted the Union Jack, the symbol of the then recent union of Great Britain and Ireland.

Grant and Murray were more or less amateur explorers, but in 1801 that great navigator Flinders was sent from

1803

*Work of  
Matthew  
Flinders.*

England in an old vessel named the *Investigator* to complete the charting of the Australian coasts.

Flinders completed the exploration of the southern coast, and worked up Spencer Gulf and St. Vincent Gulf to their heads, thus finally proving the inaccuracy of the theory that Australia was divided into two halves. In Encounter Bay Flinders met a French exploring vessel, the *Géographe*, which had charted the short stretch of coast between Cape Northumberland and Encounter Bay. In 1803 Flinders, sailing from Sydney, examined the north-east and north coast of Australia, including the little-known coasts of the Gulf of Carpentaria and of Arnhem Land, and completely circumnavigated Australia. When he returned to Sydney, the old *Investigator* was condemned as unfit for further use, and Flinders decided to take his maps and charts to England, and to apply for another vessel to finish his work. He sailed in the *Porpoise*, which was wrecked, and then the best vessel which Governor King could give him for a voyage half round the world was the 29-ton schooner *Cumberland*.

*His Cap-  
tivity at  
Mauritius.*

It was a time when men crossed stormy oceans in vessels that to-day would hardly be allowed outside a harbour, but Flinders' venture was an unusually daring one even for that time. Bad weather compelled him to put into Mauritius, then a French colony, and he had a French passport certifying that he was engaged in exploration work. But Decaen, the Governor of Mauritius, pointed out that the passport was for the *Investigator*, not the *Cumberland*. He refused to believe that Flinders was really sailing to England in a 29-ton schooner and more than hinted that he was an impostor and spy. Flinders on his part lost his temper, and the upshot was that he was kept a prisoner until 1810, a few months before the island was taken by the British. He returned to England a broken man to publish his great work, "A Voyage to Terra Australis," together with the maps and charts that accompanied it, and to die in 1814.

It has often been asserted that Decaen not only kept Flinders a prisoner, but sent his papers and drawings to Paris to be copied so that the French explorers might take the credit for Flinders' work. Professor Scott's investiga-

tions have shown that there was no foundation for this charge.

1817

To this day there are parts of the Australian coast, such as portions of the Gulf of Carpentaria, where Flinders' charts are still the best guides for the navigator available. After him all that remained to be done was the filling in of the details. In the years from 1817 to 1822 Captain King, a son of Governor King, completed the survey of much of the north and north-western coasts of Australia. He also discovered the mouths and mapped the lower course of some of the large rivers opening on to the north-west coast. Further surveys were made by Captain Stokes about 1840, but even in 1921 there was a stretch of several hundreds of miles of broken coast in North-western Australia that had never been accurately surveyed.

*The  
Northern  
and  
Western  
Coasts.*

Important discoveries were sometimes made by the sealers and whalers who scoured the Australasian seas, but it is only by accident that the fact has been preserved. *Discoveries by Sealers and Whalers.* About 1809 the sealers discovered Foveaux Strait, which separates Stewart Island from the South Island of New Zealand, of which it was supposed by Cook to form a part. The very name of the discoverer of the Strait is uncertain, but it was probably William Stewart. In 1806 a whaler, the *Ocean*, commanded by Abraham Bristow, discovered the Auckland Islands south of New Zealand, and in 1810 Frederick Hasselberg, in the Sydney schooner *Perseverance*, discovered the Macquarie and Campbell Islands.

These discoveries, however, belong rather to the economic history of the colony than to exploration proper. Enterprise in Australia was directed more to the sea than to the land in the very early days. Writing in 1804, Governor King points out that it was the seal and whale fisheries alone that, up to that time, had given the colony any important export trade. For some years after the arrival of the First Fleet, the colonists were more concerned with avoiding starvation than anything else. The provisions brought from England were eking out with fish caught in the harbour, with such animals fit for food as the country afforded, and with supplies brought from the East Indies, India, and the

*Economic  
Progress.*

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*1789*

Cape of Good Hope. Large areas, considering the size of the population, were put under cultivation, but the soil around Sydney was poor, and the returns not great. Norfolk Island was more fertile, though insect pests made havoc of the crops even there. In June, 1789, Grenville, the Secretary of State, wrote that but for the great expense already incurred at Sydney, he would recommend that Norfolk Island, a speck of about 12,000 acres, be made the principal settlement. Both at Sydney and at Norfolk Island all cultivation was done by hand labour. Ploughs were unknown, and wheat and other crops were put in with the hoe. As late as 1806 Governor King wrote: "The plough is now used by many, and from its evident advantage, will, in time, be preferred to the hoe." Then, and for many years afterwards, oxen (always known by the name of bullocks) were used as draught animals instead of horses. With the occupation of the Hawkesbury Valley from 1795 onwards, an area of rich land, the only disadvantage of which was its liability to floods, was opened up, and this became the true cradle of agriculture in Australia.

*Beginnings  
of Pastoral  
Industry.*

In later years Australia was to become, owing to its natural pastures and fine climate, one of the greatest pastoral countries in the world, with a special pre-eminence in wool-growing, but there were few signs of its future greatness in its early days. The stock were a nondescript collection from South America, the Cape of Good Hope, India, and California. The sheep grew hair rather than wool, and died off by the score. The cattle wandered away and were lost, and pigs and goats seemed to be the only animals that really thrived. Of the two bulls and five cows landed safely by the First Fleet, all but one cow strayed away soon afterwards and were never recovered. Seven years later their descendants, increased to a numerous herd, were found occupying a tract of land called the "Cow Pastures" to the south-west of Parramatta.

*John Mac-  
arthur's  
Success.*

It was the turbulent and masterful John Macarthur, the "Kingmaker" of the colony, who laid the foundations of the pastoral industry. He began in 1794 by buying sixty Bengal ewes and lambs—goat-like, hairy creatures—and

to these he soon added an Irish ram and two ewes bought from the captain of a transport. He found that the cross-bred lambs produced a mixture of hair and wool, and this led him to enter on the wool-growing industry. When the *Supply* and the *Reliance* went to Cape Town in 1796, Macarthur asked their captains to look out for sheep. It happened that the merino flock belonging to Colonel Gordon, who had just died, was being broken up. The captains brought twenty of these merinoes back to Sydney, and of them Macarthur obtained five ewes and three rams.

Others who obtained these sheep allowed them to be crossed with the common mongrels of the time, so that the strain was lost; but Macarthur kept the breed true, and three years later he took to England fleeces which attracted the attention of manufacturers. They reported that the "merino wool was equal to the best Spanish."

Macarthur strengthened his flocks by buying nine rams and a ewe from the king's flock. His success so far led, according to a work published in 1803, to "a belief that this expensive and hitherto unproductive colony will speedily furnish our country with ample supplies of fine wool." The days were to come when Australian flocks would produce nearly half a million tons, valued at over £40,000,000, of wool in a year; but they were as yet a long way off. Macarthur persuaded the authorities to give him a grant of 5,000 acres of land with the services of thirty convicts as shepherds, and he shrewdly asked to have his grant in the Cow Pastures district, rightly considering that this district, which the wild cattle had picked out for themselves, must furnish exceptionally good pasturage. Here he chose his estate of Camden Park, where the descendants of his fine wool sheep are still preserved, though a modern sheep-breeder would not think much of them.

Macarthur was also the father of the wool industry in Van Diemen's Land, which virtually began with the importation in 1820 of 200 sheep from the Camden flocks.

Samuel Marsden, chaplain to the colony, was more successful with his literal than with his spiritual flock; he took an important part in promoting the wool-growing

1810

industry, though he worked on a smaller scale than Macarthur. By 1810 there were 25,888 sheep in New South Wales, 12,442 cattle, 1,134 horses, and 9,554 pigs, while 7,615 acres were cleared and cultivated. No great expansion in the pastoral industry took place till after the crossing of the Blue Mountains.

*Coal Mining.* Apart from the growing of grain and of meat to supply the needs of the colony and from the faint beginnings of wool-growing there were few other industries in the infant colony. Coal had been discovered at the Hunter River in 1796, and in 1800 and 1801 a couple of hundred tons were shipped to Cape Town and to India. So began the output of coal, the value of which in New South Wales, up to the present, has amounted to over £100,000,000.

In 1804 King formed a small settlement at the Hunter River with coal-mining as its main object, and coal has been mined ever since. But for many years the demand was very small.

*Timber for British Shipyards.* How a small shipment of timber to India was made in 1795 has already been mentioned. Further exports of timber were made later, including a quantity of wood for shipbuilding sent to the British Navy Yards in 1802 and 1803. There may have been Australian timber in some of the ships that fought at Trafalgar. A beginning was made with the exploitation of the magnificent forests of "red cedar" along the rivers of eastern New South Wales. The early Governors sought to control and regulate this industry in a way for which posterity should be grateful to them, though the forces of greed and shortsightedness were too strong in the long run.

*Enterprise by Sea.* But it was to the sea that most of the adventurous and enterprising spirits of the day turned. There was as yet little scope on land, and the employment of convicts tended to keep free labourers away from farming. Attempts at whaling and sealing were made on the coast of New South Wales as early as 1791, but they were unfortunate. In 1792 William Raven left a sealing gang of eleven men at Dusky Bay in New Zealand, where they collected 4,500 sealskins within a month. In those days the fur-seal

1798

abounded in southern Australasian waters, resorting to the islands and headlands to rest on shore; and sealskins were valuable, particularly in China. Whales, too, frequented the coasts in great numbers at certain occasions, and in those days before gas and electricity, whale-oil, apart from its other uses, was in great demand as an illuminant. The oil of the sea-elephant, which was plentiful on King Island as well as on the sub-Antarctic islands, was also valuable.

From 1798 to 1803 the Bass Strait Islands were the great sealing-ground of Australasia. The pioneer here, as far as our records go, was the brig *Nautilus*, which sailed to Cape Bremen Island with Bass and Flinders in 1798, though Reid in the *Martha* may have been earlier. Bishop, the Captain of the *Nautilus*, set up a shore establishment at Cape Barren, making a camp ashore, and planting vegetables. In a stay of some months he secured 9,000 sealskins and twelve tons of oil. In 1804 there were eleven sloops and schooners, of from 11 to 38 tons burden, trading to Bass Strait; and about two hundred men were regularly employed sealing in that region. The sealing gangs were stationed on the various islands throughout the season, the schooners supplying them with provisions and moving them from place to place when necessary. Reckless slaughter of the seals soon resulted in an alarming decrease in their numbers, and as early as 1803 one of the Bass Strait sealing schooners, a 31-ton craft, went sealing on the New Zealand coast and at the Solanders.

In the next few years the Sydney sealers, in competition sometimes with American visitors, exploited the New Zealand coasts and the southern islands as well as the coasts and islands of Tasmania and Australia. The discovery of the Macquarie and Campbell Islands in 1810 opened up new ground rich in seals and sea-elephants. The great days of the sealing trade had been when the sealer in his 30-ton schooner risked the uncharted rocks of Bass Strait and strove against the storms of the Tasman Sea, while the sea-elephant hunter, in his but little larger craft, faced the gales and snowstorms of the far Southern seas to secure his cargoes of skins and oil from the wild, storm-beaten Macquarie Island.

1805

Those days had not only come, but well-nigh gone, before the first explorers found a way across the Blue Mountains. Not only were the islands of Bass Strait, Maria Island, and the other islands round Tasmania visited, but the sealers made their way to Kangaroo Island, and to nearly every island and rock along the coast as far to the west as Cape Leeuwin. And it was largely to build the vessels for this trade that the first rude shipyards of New South Wales were worked. As early as 1805 the *King George*, a brig of 185 tons—quite a respectable size for those days—was launched at Sydney.

*Sealing and Settlement.*

One result of the sealing trade was the formation of little groups of settlers on many islands. Often these were only temporary, but at such places as Cape Barren Island and Kangaroo Island men settled down permanently, and their descendants are there to this day. The so-called "half-castes" of Bass Strait, really of somewhat intricate ancestry, originated from the offspring of the sealers and aboriginal women stolen or bought either in Tasmania or on the Australian coast.

"*This is the only staple yet discovered here,*" wrote Governor King in 1804, referring to the seal fishery. What it meant to Sydney is shown by the fact that one vessel in 1806 landed there 60,000 sealskins collected by one gang on the Penantipodes. The prices varied greatly. At one time good fur sealskins were worth a guinea a-piece; at another, only 4s. or 5s. By 1830 the fur-seals on the southern islands had been practically exterminated, but there were still hair-seals to be obtained on the islands off the southern coast of Australasia, and on a small scale sealing lingered on there till about 1850.

*Growth of Whaling Trade.*

Whaling was hardly an Australian enterprise in the very early days. It was carried on in Australian waters, but by English and American whalers. About 1805, however, Sydney merchants began to engage in whaling, and it was not long before the larger vessels needed for whaling, as compared with sealing, were built at Sydney. By 1800 the great firm of Enderby's and others had successfully developed whaling in Australian waters. In 1807 John

1833

Macarthur became part owner of a whaling vessel, and other residents of Sydney fitted out vessels for whaling. Whale-oil and whalebone soon replaced sealskins as the chief article of export. As late as 1833 they amounted to more than half of the total exports, exceeding the value of wool and of all other products put together. Whaling vessels belonging to Sydney and to Hobart Town worked as far afield as the west coast of America on the one hand, and Kerguelen Land on the other. At the same time bay whaling, a Van Diemen's Land invention, was developed on a large scale. This meant the establishment of whaling stations at points along the coast. The whalers lived on shore, and put out in whaleboats to hunt any whales that came within striking distance. Such stations were scattered broadcast along the shore of Van Diemen's Land, and about 1830 many were established at points along the south coast of Australia from Twofold Bay to Port Lincoln, and in New Zealand. Bay whaling came to an end before 1850; the whales were so harassed, and became so scarce, that it was no longer profitable. Deep sea whaling lingered on much longer, though its importance, absolutely as well as relatively, greatly declined. It was not till after 1890 that the last whaling vessel belonging to the port of Hobart was put out of commission.

Even at the very beginning of the nineteenth century the later position of Sydney as a centre of trade with the Pacific Islands was foreshadowed. Before the century opened, the necessities of the settlement had led to vessels being sent to Tahiti to barter for pork. It was not long before this was extended to trade in sandalwood, pearls and pearl-shell, and other products of the islands. As early as 1804 we find Simeon Lord, a Sydney merchant, chartering an American vessel to obtain a cargo of sandalwood from Fiji for the China market. In the next few years, Sydney vessels entered actively into trade in the islands, and engaged in the dangerous but profitable undertaking of smuggling goods into the Spanish colonies of South America.

Here may fitly be mentioned the mysterious end of George Bass, the explorer. Bass left the Navy in 1800 and, in

1801

association with Captain Bishop—the same who had commanded the *Nautilus* on her pioneer sealing voyage to Bass Strait—engaged in a mercantile speculation. They bought a 140-ton vessel, the *Venus*, and carried a cargo to Sydney in 1801. The then very limited Sydney market was glutted, and so the goods were put in bond while Bass and Bishop went to Tahiti for a cargo of pork, which they sold to Governor King at 6d. per pound. As the pork was obtained by barter largely for axes made of iron obtained from the wreck of the *Endeavour* at Dusky Bay in New Zealand, the venture was not unprofitable.

Bass now elaborated plans for a great trading and fishing enterprise. He arranged to visit Dusky Bay again to pick up two anchors belonging to the *Endeavour* and some more iron, and then go to Chile to obtain for Sydney provisions and live-stock (including guanacos). On his return he applied to Governor King for the exclusive right during seven years of trading to the southern part of New Zealand, the Bounty Islands, the Penantipodes and the Snares, with ten leagues of sea around them. If at the end of seven years he was able to supply salt fish to the Government stores at a penny a pound less than meat cost, he wished that the lease should be renewed for fourteen years. "If I can draw up food from the sea in places which are lying useless to the world," wrote Bass in a letter to King, "I surely am entitled to make an exclusive property of the fruits of my ingenuity, as much as the man who obtains letters patent for a cork-screw or a cake of blacking." This question was to be settled when Bass returned from South America. He sailed from Sydney in February, 1803, and nothing was ever heard again of his vessel, his crew, or himself. It is not even known whether he put into Dusky Bay. In later days there were legends of his having attempted to force a trade in South America, of his being seized by the Spanish authorities and sent to the mines. But none of them is entitled to much credence, and the fate of Bass, like that of several other pioneers who sailed out of Sydney, remains a mystery.

Bass was not the only navigator to seek trade with South

America; and others met with better success. In supporting a request by owners of whaling vessels that they be allowed to convey cargoes to Sydney, to which the East India Company objected on the ground that it was an infraction of its trade monopoly, Governor King naively remarks that the only thing that could be done with the goods, if they were not consumed in New South Wales, was to smuggle them into South America, which would do no harm to the East India Company and would promote the trade of Sydney. Several adventurers did engage in this trade with profitable results.

1804

*Smuggling  
into Spanish  
America.*

The connection of Sydney with South America was, *Privateers and Pirates.* however, not confined to peaceful smuggling. As early as 1799 Spanish prizes taken by English whaling vessels on the coast of South America were brought to Sydney. An international situation was brought about, in 1804, by the action of William Campbell, master of the *Harrington*. He had letters of marque, issued in India, as a privateer against France and Holland, and as he heard, according to his own declaration, on reaching the island of Juan Fernandez, that war had broken out between England and Spain, he proceeded to capture a Spanish ship of war, the *Estramina*, and a trading vessel, and to carry off certain "pigs of copper" and other goods from Guasco. As a matter of fact, war had not been declared when these acts of hostility were committed, though Spain did join France against England a little later. However, King seized Campbell's prizes, and in 1805 ordered Acting-Lieutenant Robbins in the cutter *Integrity* to go to Valparaiso, under a flag of truce, and to ask Don Louis Guzman, Captain-General of Chile, to send witnesses of Campbell's actions to Sydney. Like Bass, Robbins and his crew were never heard of again. Campbell, after many adventures, including the loss of the *Harrington*, which was carried away by Stewart and his convict companions, secured a grant of 2,000 acres of land, and settled down at Harrington Park as a prosperous and respected landowner. The *Estramina* was bought by the Government.

Spanish prizes were not the only ones brought to Sydney.

1806

East India  
Company's  
Monopoly.

In 1804 the whaler *Policy* captured near Amboina the *Swift*, an armed Dutch vessel, carrying, amongst other things, twenty thousand dollars, and brought her to the port.

Over the trade of the little colony in those days hung the baleful shadow of the East India Company's monopoly. That Company claimed, under its charter, a monopoly of all trade (including fishing rights) from the Cape of Good Hope to the Strait of Magellan. It claimed, and sometimes exercised, the right to prevent trade between New South Wales and England. In 1806, for instance, it seized and retained for some months a cargo of sealskins and oil sent home by Robert Campbell, a Sydney merchant. The monopoly was relaxed as a result of this action, but not till 1820 was anything like freedom of trade given to the colonists. One result of this monopoly was that much of the overseas trade of New South Wales was carried by American vessels. From 1792 to 1812 no fewer than fifty-five American vessels called at Sydney, while many others touched at out-settlements, or went whaling or sealing in Australian waters without visiting Sydney. It is, by the way, recorded in a letter written in 1802 that most of the English whaling vessels on the coast had as captains men from Nantucket in the United States.

Foreign  
Relations.

The foreign relations of the colony and the fears of foreign interference were so closely bound up with the foundation of new settlements that a brief account of them may introduce this phase of the early history of the colony. It has been seen that, as early as 1772, the French had taken formal possession of the country on the shores of Shark's Bay. Though they did not follow this by any attempt at occupation, the fear of French rivalry was never far from the minds of the British authorities in Australia during the Napoleonic wars. How Sydney was used by the privateers as a base for operations against Spanish shipping in the Pacific has already been mentioned. In 1797 despatches were sent out ordering a part of the New South Wales Corps to be held in readiness to embark on a naval force which was to call at the colony. The naval force never came, and there is nothing to show to what region the intended expedition

1792

was to have been sent. Probably it was to have gone to the Philippines. In 1792 France sent out an expedition under D'Entrecasteaux in search of Laperouse, which charted part of the south-eastern coast of Tasmania. In 1801-1802 appeared another French expedition, consisting of two ships, *Le Géographe* and *Le Naturaliste*, commanded by Baudin. This spent much time on the coasts of Australia and of Tasmania and visited Sydney, where the French met with great hospitality. There is no evidence that there was any intention that Baudin and his companions should claim territory or plant a settlement; the objects of the expedition were purely scientific. Yet there is no doubt that Peron and Freycinet, two members of the expedition, gathered all the information that they could about the military strength and weakness of the colony, and made reports setting out the way in which it could best be attacked. Up till 1810 the French held Mauritius, but this isolated colony lacked the means of sending an expedition to Australia, and the British fleet held the command of the sea.

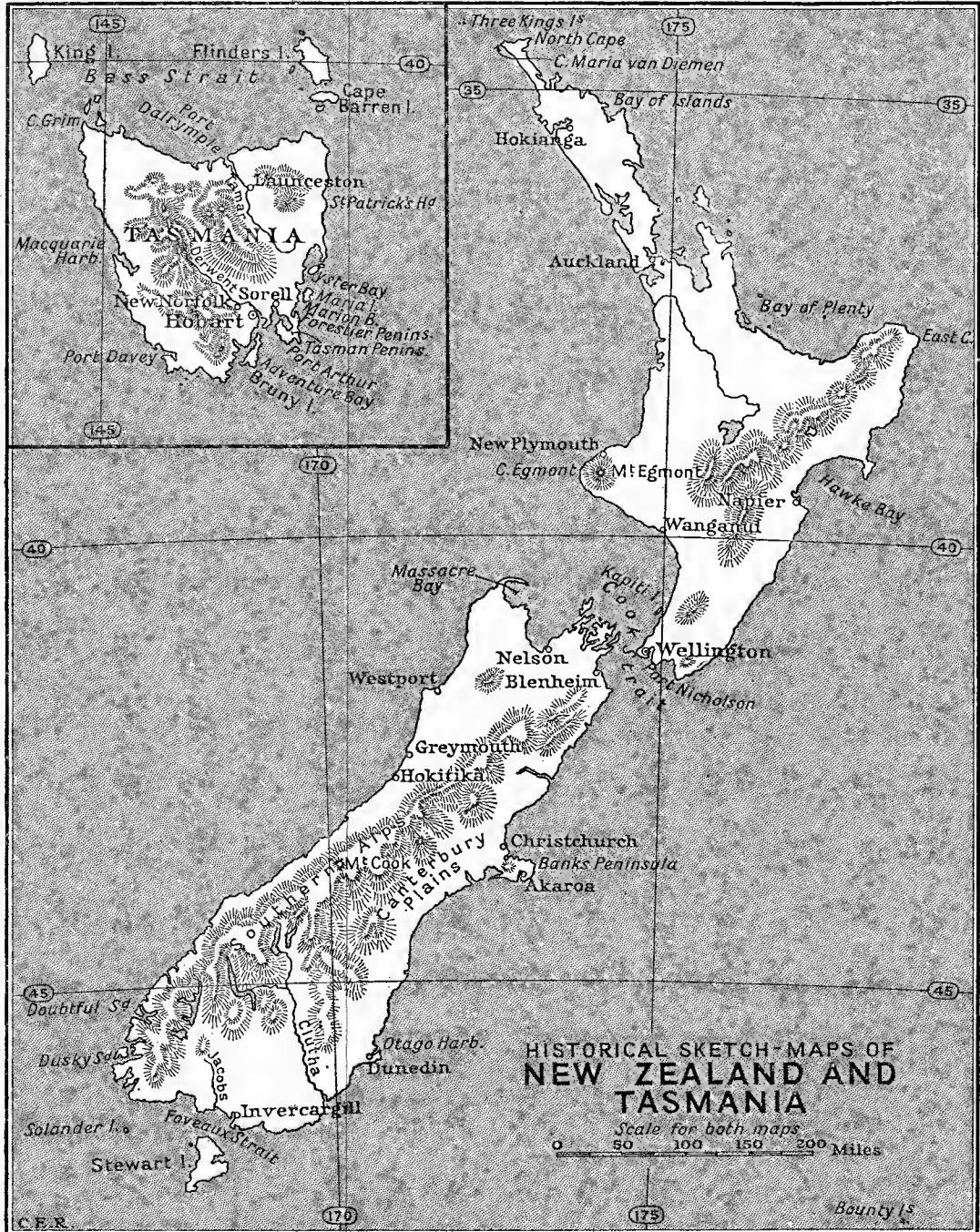
In 1813 an enemy did appear in the Pacific and wrought *American War Vessel in Pacific.* much havoc amongst British shipping in the Pacific, but it was an American vessel-of-war, the frigate *Essex*, and not a French expedition. According to a curious and interesting statement made by Jorgen Jorgenson, a Dane, who had been a mate in the *Lady Nelson*, had fought against England when she was at war with Denmark, been made prisoner, had for a brief period usurped the "throne" of Iceland, and was later employed as an agent on the Continent by the British Government, a plan had been laid by which four French vessels were to run the British blockade, join the Americans at the Falkland Islands, and then attack Sydney. It was alleged that the plan was to land troops in Broken Bay and march overland on Sydney after cutting off communications with Hawkesbury, the chief granary of the colony, and seizing Parramatta. Arms were to be given to those convicts who would join the French. If such a plan was ever laid, as seems highly probable, it miscarried. But the *Essex* established her headquarters at the Marquesas Islands, where a fort was built, and captured many British

1814

whalers in the Pacific, seventeen in all, according to Jorgenson. In July, 1814, a whaler named the *Seringapatam*, which had been captured by the Americans, arrived at Sydney, manned by fourteen British seamen. These men had been made prisoner and forced to work at the erection of the fort on the Marquesas Islands. While the *Essex* was away on a cruise the seamen arose, overpowered the American prizemasters, spiked the guns of the fort, and put to sea in the *Seringapatam*. The *Essex* was later taken by the British man-of-war *Cherub* after a fierce fight off Valparaiso.

*Fears of French Intervention.*

But to return to 1802. Governor King was told that the French under Baudin, who had just left Sydney, proposed to found a settlement in Van Diemen's Land. He sent Robbins down to King Island to hoist the British flag and to warn the French off. At the same time he looked with an unfriendly eye on Alexandre Lecorre, master of the schooner *Surprise*, who had taken advantage of the brief truce that followed the Treaty of Amiens to make a voyage to Sydney, and proposed to go sealing in Bass Strait. King warned Lecorre not to trespass on the islands occupied by the Sydney sealers. When Lecorre's vessel was wrecked at the Sisters, and himself and most of his crew drowned, King wrote coolly: "This may stop any more adventurers from that quarter."





## CHAPTER VI

### OCCUPATION OF TASMANIA AND THE PORT PHILLIP FAILURE

ANXIOUS to have some form of effective occupation in Van Diemen's Land, to which Baudin had devoted so much attention, King, in September, 1803, sent Lieutenant John Bowen, R.N., to establish a post on the estuary of the Derwent in the south-east of the island. Bowen's civil establishment consisted of three persons—himself, a surgeon, and a storekeeper. As a military guard he had a lance-corporal and seven privates, and there were twenty-one men and three women convicts, and three free settlers. Bowen camped with his little force at Risdon, and granted small areas of land to his free settlers. In October King sent down fifteen soldiers under Lieutenant Moore and forty-two more convicts. He also sent James Meehan, a surveyor, who carried out the first surveys ever made in Van Diemen's Land. Meehan's field-book, giving the details of these surveys, is still preserved in Hobart. But Bowen's colony made little progress. We are told that the convicts were "abandoned, hardened wretches," and some of the soldiers do not seem to have been much better. Seven convicts stole Bowen's whaleboat and ran to Bass Strait in it. One of these men, William Privett, was amongst the convicts carried away from Cape Barren Island by Amasa Delano, the American sealer. Delano records in his book the fact that when his whaleboat was caught in a storm at Juan Fernandez Island, and his boat's crew were terrified, Privett remarked casually that it was not as rough as when he crossed Banks Strait, after they had stolen the "King's boat" at the Derwent.

1803

*Occupation of Tasmania.*

But events were happening elsewhere which soon put *Port Phillip Expedition.* an end to Bowen's settlement. The authorities in England

1803

shared King's uneasiness about the designs of the French, and in 1803 they sent out an expedition under David Collins, formerly Phillip's Judge-Advocate at Sydney, to occupy the recently discovered Port Phillip on the northern side of Bass Strait. This expedition was planned on a far more extensive scale than Bowen's tiny band. Collins was given 307 convicts, of whom 17 were accompanied by their wives, a guard of 51 marines, 10 members of the Civil Staff, and 16 free settlers. Collins was a man of some distinction in his day, the author of the best contemporary account of the early days of the New South Wales settlement. But he was easy-going, dissipated, and not of the stuff of which great pioneers are made. Since its discovery by Murray the harbour of Port Phillip had been surveyed by Charles Grimes, sent down from Sydney in 1803 for the purpose. Grimes and his companions had discovered the River Yarra, on which Melbourne, the second city in Australia, is now built.

*Settlement's  
Troubles  
and Trials.*

But Collins never made any serious attempt to establish a colony at Port Phillip. It would appear from his despatches that he entertained the opinion that the Derwent was a far better site for a settlement. He speaks of its convenient situation as a port of call for vessels bound to the north-west coast of America or to China, and of its value as a whaling port. An elaborate memorandum on the advantages of the place was prepared by William Collins, whom he appointed the first harbour-master at Hobart. When David Collins had reached Port Phillip he did not spend much time in exploring. After a few days' examination of the shores close to the entrance, and without going to the head of the bay, he dumped his convicts and their guards down on a sandy peninsula to the east of the narrow channel leading into the bay. Water could be obtained only by sinking in the sand, and the soil was poor. Huts were built and gardens planted, but nothing went right. An expedition was sent to examine the upper part of the harbour, but it came into collision with a mob of natives, estimated at two hundred in number, and one of the natives was shot. This alarmed Collins, who wrote to King: "Were I to settle in the upper part of the harbour, which is full of natives, I

should require four times the force I have now to guard not only the convicts, but perhaps myself, from their attacks." Though H.M.S. *Calcutta*, one of the vessels conveying the expedition, went up to the head of the bay and took in fifty-five tons of water from the Yarra, Collins was not induced to seek a better position on the banks of the river. Collins sent his namesake, William Collins, to Port Jackson with despatches in an open boat manned by six convict volunteers, who afterwards received conditional pardons. King, in reply, gave Collins the choice of settling at either the Derwent or at Port Dalrymple, on the northern coast of Tasmania.

In the meantime, Collins had trouble with his convicts. More than a dozen deserted with some vague idea of reaching some settlement or being picked up by a whaler on the coast. Some were recaptured, one or two were shot, but seven were not accounted for. Only one of these was ever heard of again. When Port Phillip was settled in 1835 there was found living amongst the aborigines, with whom he had dwelt for thirty-two years, a man named William Buckley, who had run away from Collins's camp. After hesitating for some time between the claims of the Derwent and of Port Dalrymple, Collins decided in favour of the Derwent, and on January 30, 1804, he left Port Phillip. Lieutenant Tuckey, an officer on the *Calcutta*, wrote, forgetting the aborigines who had so terrified Collins: "The kangaroo seems to reign undisturbed lord of the soil, a dominion which, by the evacuation of Port Phillip, he is likely to retain for ages." "Ages" is a little too strong, but the settlement of what is now Victoria had been put off for thirty years.

Collins, on arriving at the Derwent, found that Bowen's *Transfer to Tasmania.* settlement was on a creek up which boats of any size could not go. He decided not to interfere with Bowen, and chose as the site of his settlement a little bay a few miles lower down and on the opposite side of the river. Here, on the shores of the finest harbour in Australia, he pitched his camp. For some time, in spite of King's positive orders that Collins was to lose no time in taking under his authority

1803

every place and person at or about the Derwent, the "Governor of Risdon Creek," as Bowen was called, retained his independent command. But King was peremptory. "There is no need," he wrote, "for two governors within six miles of one another." Bowen was recalled, and the Risdon settlement abandoned.

*The  
Aborigines of  
Tasmania.*

But before Bowen left there occurred at Risdon the first of the long series of collisions between the white settlers and the aborigines of Tasmania, which led to the extermination of the Tasmanian race, the one distinct species of race which has completely vanished from the earth within the last century. The Tasmanians were quite distinct in physical type from the aborigines of the mainland, and distinctly lower in the scale of civilization. They were, in fact, palæolithic men of a rather archaic type surviving into modern times. It has been conjectured, with a certain amount of probability, that people of the Tasmanian type were the original inhabitants of the Australian continent, that they spread into Tasmania, possibly before the island was separated from the mainland, and that on the mainland they were either exterminated or absorbed by the invading Australians, while in Tasmania they were protected by the subsidence of Bass Strait. It is, at least, evident from the high accumulations of shells in their kitchen-middens that they had inhabited Tasmania for long ages. They were scattered over the island in small tribes or rather groups, living by hunting, by collecting shell-fish along the coast, and by gathering such few edible fruits, seeds, and roots as the country afforded. Their only tools were chipped, but not ground, fragments of stone, sometimes dignified with the names of "axes" and "knives." Of the art of putting handles to these stone tools, an art known to most, if not all of the Australian aborigines, they were totally ignorant. Their weapons were spears of wood, their points sharpened and hardened in the fire, but with no head of stone or bone, and wooden clubs. The boomerangs and stone-throwers of the Australians were unknown to them. Clothing they had none; their only shelters were hollow trees or break-winds of boughs. It is doubtful whether, in their native state,

1804

uninfluenced by white men or by aborigines from the mainland, they ever built anything that could be called a hut. The evidence as to their knowledge of navigation is conflicting. It would seem, however, that on parts of the coast they made a catamaran or raft of bundles of bark. It is certain that they crossed channels several miles wide in order to visit adjacent islands. On the whole, the Tasmanians were probably the most primitive race which has survived till modern times. To anthropologists they would have been of the utmost interest and value, as living examples of the men of the Old Stone Age, but the early settlers in Tasmania were not scientists.

There is reason to believe that originally, until goaded to fury by the outrages of the baser sort of white man, the Tasmanians were a harmless as well as a deeply interesting folk. It is true that Marion had trouble with them in 1772—trouble which led to the death of one aborigine, the first of many hundreds to fall at the hands of the white man, but this seems to have been due to a misunderstanding. Cook, D'Entrecasteaux, Baudin, Bass, and others, found the aborigines whom they met peaceful and well disposed. Until May 3, 1804, no natives had come near the Risdon settlement. On that day a large hunting party, estimated at about three hundred, appeared on the hills near the camp, driving kangaroos before them into the valley in order to surround and kill them. That they had no hostile intention is shown by the fact that they had women and children with them. When they intended to fight these were hidden away. It is indeed unlikely that they knew anything of the settlement. Bowen was away, and Lieutenant Moore, who was in command, lost his head, and allowed the soldiers to fire on the aborigines. According to Lieutenant Moore's report only two natives were killed, but another eyewitness of the affair stated that many were slain. This witness stated many years later that Dr. Mountgarret, the surgeon, sent to Sydney, in the interests of science, two casks containing the bones of the slaughtered natives. This affray aroused a feeling of hostility against the whites in the minds of the aborigines, and that feeling grew, with only too much reason, in later years.

*Black Men  
and White.*

1804

*Port  
Dalrymple  
Settlement.*

The removal of Collins from Port Phillip left Bass Strait still with no British settlement on or near it, except the quite irregular camps of the sealers on the islands of the Strait. King had been given strict instructions to see that a settlement was made there, and in June, 1804, he sent Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, who had served in New South Wales since the days of Phillip, to establish himself at Port Dalrymple in the north of Tasmania. There was still an idea that a settlement on the northern side of the Strait, now the regular route to Sydney for vessels coming from the westward, was desirable; and Paterson was instructed to "examine how far you consider Port Phillip or Westernport the most eligible for forming a settlement, not so much with a view to its being considered a present agricultural settlement, but as a post of occupancy." But Paterson found enough to do without that. His force consisted of a surgeon and a storekeeper, thirty-nine officers and men, and twenty-six convicts. Twenty years later other settlements were formed to forestall a possible occupation by the French, as will be mentioned later; but for the present it was considered that the two settlements in Tasmania had sufficiently established the British claims.

Paterson was quite independent of Collins at the other end of the island, and until 1813 there were two Lieutenant-Governors, each subject only to the Captain-General at Sydney in Van Diemen's Land. Paterson settled down at Yorktown, near the entrance to Port Dalrymple, afterwards abandoned in favour of Launceston, higher up the river.

*More  
Trouble with  
Aborigines.*

As at the Risdon settlement, Paterson's subjects soon clashed with the natives. The first meeting with the aborigines passed off peacefully; but a few days later the Tasmanians, according to Paterson, attacked the guard. Their main object was supposed to be plunder, but they sought to throw the sergeant in charge into the sea. The soldiers fired and killed a native. "This unfortunate circumstance, I am fearful, will be the cause of much mischief hereafter," wrote Paterson. He was a true prophet.

1806

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Both at Hobart and at Launceston the settlers were for some years often on the verge of starvation. Lieutenant Lord, who ruled at the Derwent on the death of Collins in 1810, stated, in giving evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1812, that in those hungry years he had often been glad to go to bed because he had nothing to eat. King supplied what food he could, but the great floods on the Hawkesbury in 1806 destroyed a great part of the harvest of New South Wales. Spurred on by the necessity of at least providing for the future, King agreed with the house of Campbell and Co. to buy several hundreds of cows from India at £25 a head, to be landed at Port Dalrymple or the Derwent. The way in which the captain of Campbell's vessel was to find out where to land the cattle illustrates the primitive means of communication in those days. On arriving at the western entrance to Bass Strait the captain was to send a boat ashore at Sea Elephant Bay, King Island. Hanging to the rafters of the largest sealers' hut there he would find a bottle containing the necessary instructions. At another time King sent despatches to Hobart by a Bass Strait sealing vessel, and directed Collins to pay the Captain with thirty empty casks—as strange a form of postage as was ever paid.

Within a few years both the settlements received strong reinforcements. The new settlers came, not from Great Britain, but from Norfolk Island, the tiny islet out in the Pacific, which had been settled at the same time as Sydney. Marines and seamen as well as emancipists were given small grants of land at Norfolk Island; the soil was fertile, and for a time the settlement prospered. But it had no harbour, and at times the crops were stricken with blight or ravaged by insects. Moreover, the island became a place of secondary banishment for the convicts guilty of crime in New South Wales, though not anything like to the extent that prevailed years later. Joseph Holt, the Irish "rebel," who was sent to Norfolk Island in 1804, could describe it as "the dwelling of devils in human shape, the refuse of Botany Bay, the doubly damned." Judge Burton, who went to the island in 1834 to try mutinous convicts, wrote of the place

*The Norfolk Islanders.*

1804-1810 as a "cageful of unclean birds, full of crimes against God and man, murders and blasphemies and all uncleanness." But in 1834 this island was a penal settlement only; in 1804 it contained many free settlers. The authorities in England directed King to remove the settlers to Van Diemen's Land. They were to be given grants there, four acres for every acre cultivated at Norfolk Island, and two for each acre of wasteland, food for twelve months, and the labour of two convicts for the same period. But of the 213 occupiers of land at Norfolk Island, few were tempted by these terms. Five went to Port Dalrymple in 1805, but the rest obstinately refused to stir. King, too, had a soft spot in his heart for the colony he had founded. But the authorities in England were inexorable—Norfolk Island was too expensive and too troublesome. The convicts were mostly withdrawn, the guard reduced to twenty-five men; but there were still 700 persons on the island at the end of 1806, nearly as many as in all Van Diemen's Land, where the combined populations of Hobart Town and Port Dalrymple then amounted to 772. Better terms were offered to the settlers, including rations for two years, and some compensation in money for the property left behind. By the end of 1808, 554 Norfolk Islanders had been landed at the Derwent, thus more than doubling the population. They were given grants of land, and to this day numbers of the inhabitants of Tasmania trace their descent to these settlers. But for some time after their arrival life at Hobart Town was largely a struggle for bare subsistence. A vessel was chartered to bring wheat from India, but was wrecked. Wheat sold at £4 and even £6 a bushel, but in 1810 the *Venus* brought a cargo from India, and the price fell to 12s.

*Bushrangers.* In this period of famine began one of the darkest chapters in the whole of the dark history of early Van Diemen's Land. To eke out his scanty supplies, Collins offered first 6d. and then 1s. a pound for all kangaroo meat delivered into the Government stores. The forests of the southern part of the island were scoured by hunters, some of them the lowest and most brutal of the convict classes. A much more

1809

capable Governor than the inefficient Collins could not have restrained them. Some of them murdered and outraged the wretched aborigines, who retaliated in turn by slaying white men, innocent or guilty as the case might be. Some took to plundering the outlying settlers, and became known as "bushrangers," the forerunners of a terrible scourge of the young colony. When Bligh touched at Hobart Town in 1809 he wrote of the wild doings of a "set of banditti, bushrangers as they are called." In this early period there was not very much to steal in the country, and the highly organised gangs were a thing of the future. The story of the death of Mark Lemon in 1809 throws light on the manners of the times. Lemon and another bushranger, Brown, were surprised in 1809 at a place still called Lemon Springs. Lemon was shot, and his captors cut off his head and forced the other bushranger to carry it into Hobart Town, nearly fifty miles away.

Between Hobart and Launceston lies over one hundred miles of country, but it was for the most part thinly wooded and not so rugged as much of the island. In 1807 Lieutenant Laycock opened up a route across the island from one centre to another, but for several years there was very little communication between the two places.

An incident which occurred at Launceston in 1811, shortly before that settlement was united to Hobart, showed what might happen at an isolated outpost in those days. There arrived in the Tamar River from India a small brig called the *Active*. Her owner and supercargo, Jonathan Burke McHugo, was a young man of princely manners and prepossessing appearance. He sent presents of goods to the Commandant, Major Gordon, and to other officers. To Gordon he dropped mysterious hints that he was not what he seemed, but was a person of very high rank travelling incognito. So powerfully did he work on Gordon's mind that he handed the command over to the stranger, who "was like," wrote Governor Macquarie, "to have made a very ill use of it." But his officers were not so easily deceived. They seized McHugo and shipped him off to Sydney, where a medical committee pronounced him insane. McHugo believed, in

*"King Jonathan" at Launceston.*

1811

fact, that he was the direct descendant of Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Earl of Bothwell. A few years later he was in London writing letters in which, with a royal disregard of grammar, he described himself as "Rex de divina jure" of Great Britain and Ireland, and referred to George III. as a usurper. Gordon was the last to hold sway as Lieutenant-Governor of Port Dalrymple. In 1813 the place was subordinated to Hobart.

## CHAPTER VII

### MACQUARIE, THE NATION-BUILDER

WHEN the news of Governor Bligh's deposition reached England, it was decided that an end must be put to the domination of the New South Wales Corps. The naval 1803  
*Macquarie's Rule.*  
Governors were to be replaced by a military officer of high rank, who was to have the support of a regiment of regular troops. Brigadier-General Nightingall was selected as the new Governor, and the 73rd Highland Regiment, commanded by Major Macquarie, as the regiment. Ill-health prevented Nightingall from going to Sydney, and Macquarie was thus, as the result of a lucky accident, given the position of Governor. It was thus that the "second founder of Australia" secured the position which enabled him to leave such a deep and enduring mark on the development of a continent. Macquarie was then forty-eight years of age. He was descended from the chiefs of the clan Macquarie, in the Island of Ulva, one of the Hebrides. Entering the army at the age of sixteen, he had seen service in America, and done much good work as an officer in India and in Egypt. He was a man of great energy, ability, and determination, an autocrat to his finger-tips, but courteous and polite. He made many mistakes as Governor, but he showed a far-sighted policy in developing the material resources of the colony, and in labouring to give to those convicts who had served their sentences an assured position in the civil life of the country. That he was inspired by a single-minded devotion to duty, and worked in the best interests of the country as he saw them, few ever doubted.

Lachlan Macquarie probably did more to shape the *The Maker of Australia.*  
destinies of Australia than any other single man. For twelve years, from 1809 to 1821, he ruled as an autocrat

1809-1821 subject only to the slight and erratic control of the distant authorities in England, and under him the exploration and settlement of the interior of Australia, where the colonists had hitherto been confined to a tiny patch on the eastern edge, like a swallow's nest on a wall, began. From two tiny colonies with a handful of half-starved settlers in each, Van Diemen's Land became a thriving colony. Macquarie was a mighty builder as well as a maker of roads and a promoter of settlements. He did not find Sydney brick and leave it marble, but he did find a good deal of it wood or wattle and daub, and leave it brick or stone. Over two-hundred public buildings were erected in the colony by him, many of which still stand, with "L. Macquarie, Governor," engraved on their walls, to commemorate his rule. It was Macquarie who straightened out the streets of Sydney, or rather made them a little less crooked, and introduced some sort of order into the higgledy-piggledy confusion that had grown up. He fixed, too, the sites of many towns both in New South Wales and Tasmania. His surname and Christian names and the names of his wife, Elizabeth Macquarie, who was by birth a Campbell, are writ large on the map of Australia. Mrs. Macquarie, a woman of strong character and original ideas, was something of an architect herself, and is believed to have designed the plans of some of the buildings which Macquarie erected. Macquarie found in Sydney a London architect of genius, Greenway, who had been transported, and employed him as Government architect.

*State of the Settlements.*

Emigration to New South Wales increased, though the number of convicts also rose rapidly. Up to the beginning of Macquarie's term of office only 12,000 had been landed at Sydney, but during his reign 16,000 were transported to Australia. A few figures will show the material progress during Macquarie's time. The white population of Australia increased from 11,950 to 38,778. The number of cattle in the colony increased from 12,442 to 102,939, and of sheep from 35,888 to 290,158. In 1810 the port dues collected at Sydney amounted to £8,000; by 1821 they had increased threefold. When Macquarie arrived, to bring to an end

the period of usurpation which followed the deposition of Bligh, he found that the public works of the colony were neglected, the inhabitants, both emancipists and free settlers, dissatisfied, the system of public credit disorganised, the judicial administration in low repute, and the convict system ill regulated. Morally the settlement was at a very low ebb. Examples of shameless and open immorality were common amongst both military and civil officers. With such examples, set by those in authority, it is no wonder that the morals of the community generally were, as a later writer put it, "fortuitous." One of Macquarie's first acts was to issue a proclamation denouncing immorality and vice. In his own life he set a good example to his subjects. Not only was his moral character above reproach, but he was careful to avoid even the suspicion of interested motives. Some of his predecessors had obtained grants of land for themselves and farmed on their own account, but Macquarie decided that it was not right for the Governor to own land and engage in farming in the colony.

The first duty of the new Governor was to clear up the position arising from the usurpation of power by the military officers. The New South Wales Corps, which had so long in turn protected and tyrannised over the settlement, was disbanded. Of its members some 300 were embodied in the 73rd Regiment, a number returned to England, and 100 settled in the colony. From this time, until 1870, British regular troops were stationed in Australia, but no regiment was allowed to remain for many years on service there, and consequently none ever attained the peculiar position held by the New South Wales Corps. Macquarie revoked all the acts and proclamations of the rulers during the interregnum—Johnston, Foveaux, and Paterson—and restored the officials who had been expelled after the fall of Bligh. Most of the land grants and pardons, however, were afterwards regranted. Paterson had been particularly liberal of the lands of the colony, granting lands, as Macquarie reported, "to almost every person who asked them, without regard to their merits or pretensions." In twelve months Paterson had granted away 67,475 acres, or more than King,

1809

the most liberal of his predecessors, had granted in seven years. The popular impression, by the way, that the waste-lands of the continent were granted away with reckless prodigality in the days when Governors were autocratic is very wide of the truth. The areas granted up to the close of Macquarie's rule were, comparatively, very small; and though some very large grants were made in the next few years, the total granted up to the time when powers of self-government were given to the Australian colonies was but a tiny fraction of the whole.

*The "Rum Hospital."*

One of Macquarie's first acts was to remove the restrictions on trade. He dealt with the liquor question, which had always been a great obstacle to the progress of the colony, by reducing the number of licensed public-houses in Sydney from seventy-five (a very lavish allowance for a place with under 5,000 inhabitants) to twenty. At the same time he proposed to allow the free importation of spirits, subject to a duty of 3s. a gallon. Very soon afterwards, however, he gave a three years' monopoly of the trade in spirits to Blaxland, Riley, and Wentworth. This monopoly, under which the contractors were to import 45,000 gallons of rum in three years at the Government price of 10s. a gallon plus duty, formed—together with eighty oxen for slaughter from the Government herds, and the labour of twenty convicts for three years—the payment for the erection of a new general hospital at Sydney, known as the "Rum Hospital."

*Making of Roads.*

In a despatch dated three months after his arrival, Macquarie lays it down that the making of permanent roads and bridges was one of the first steps towards improving a new country, and states that he had accordingly decided to make a turnpike road from Sydney to the Hawkesbury, the chief agricultural settlement of the colony. A much more important and ambitious work, undertaken in 1815, was the making of the great road over the Blue Mountains to Bathurst, which opened up the interior of New South Wales. Many other important lines of communication, both in New South Wales and Tasmania, which he twice visited, were laid down by Macquarie.

The test question of Macquarie's governorship, and the

1810

one by which the real greatness which he possessed in spite of the vanity, the impatience, and the formality which sometimes overlaid it, was his treatment of the emancipist population—the convicts who had earned their freedom.

*Macquarie  
and the  
Emancipists.*

"I was very much surprised and incensed on my arrival here," Macquarie wrote to his official superior, Lord Castle-reagh, in 1810, "at the extraordinary and illiberal policy I found had been adopted by all the persons who had preceded me in office respecting those men who had originally been sent out to this country as convicts, but who, by long habits of industry and total reformation of manners, had not only become respectable, but by many degrees the most useful members of society. These persons have never been countenanced or received into society. I have, nevertheless, taken upon myself to adopt a new line of conduct, conceiving that emancipation, when united with rectitude and long tried good conduct, should lead a man back to that rank in society which he had forfeited, and do away, as far as the case will admit, all retrospect of former bad conduct."

To this theory Macquarie adhered throughout his rule. In so doing he ran counter to the strongest prejudices of the military officers and of those settlers and officials who had come free to the colony. It cannot be supposed that Macquarie arrived at the decision without a severe mental struggle. He was of good birth, proud of his descent from a long line of chiefs, he had the highest ideas of the dignity of his rank and position, and he had spent all his life in the Army absorbing the ideas of the army officers of the day. But, having once decided on his course of action, he held steadfastly to it throughout his tenure of office in spite of fierce and determined opposition. Macquarie took up the very reasonable position that, as New South Wales was a settlement of which the main purpose was the reformation of convicts, it was wrong that those who had reformed should still continue to be socially and officially ostracised. Those who objected to associating with them, he said, should go elsewhere. Indeed, he had little liking for the free settlers who formed an important part of the exclusionist party.

"I must also inform your Lordship," he wrote to Lord

1813

Bathurst, "that the free settlers in general (not excepting the Messrs. Blaxland) who are sent out from England are by far the most discontented persons in the colony. . . . The best description of settlers are emancipated convicts or persons become free by servitude who have been convicts."

Macquarie carried his principle to excess in some cases, but he did a great service to Australia. At a critical period in her history he strove, not without success, to make Australia not merely a penal settlement for the disposal of prisoners, but a place where they could reform, and be allowed to take a part in building up a new nation if they proved themselves worthy of it.

*Wentworth  
and the  
"Currency  
Lads."*

It is significant that some of the best known of the native-born Australians, the "Currency Lads," were the emancipists. Amongst them was W. C. Wentworth, who had been one of the three leaders of the expedition across the Blue Mountains in 1813. Wentworth had been born in 1793 at Norfolk Island, where his father, D'Arcy Wentworth, was surgeon. The elder Wentworth had never been a convict, but he came perilously near it. He had been tried four times for highway robbery, and though he was not convicted, he avoided further trouble by accepting an offer to go to New South Wales. Later he became a man of wealth and influence, and was one of the three contractors for the hospital. Young Wentworth had been sent to Cambridge, and returned at the end of Macquarie's reign to take a very active part in public life. This native-born generation felt that there was a prejudice against them similar to that which in times a little earlier had prevailed against the Creoles in the Spanish colonies in America, where the Spaniards who had come from Spain considered themselves superior to those born in America, and therefore monopolised the higher positions. This feeling found strong expression in an address presented to Governor Darling in 1826. This says, referring to the native-born:

"The patronage of office they have always disregarded, but grants of land which they consider their own as it were by natural inheritance and which they have seen of late years, through the recommendation of the Government Com-

missioner of Inquiry, lavishly bestowed upon strangers without capability of improving it superior or for the most part even equal to their own, has had a baneful influence on their minds."

So Hamilton Hume the explorer, in a letter to Lord Bathurst, remarks, with an undercurrent of bitterness, that he presumed himself, "though an Australian," capable of undertaking such an expedition.

One means adopted by Macquarie for carrying out his *Emancipists and Exclusionists.*" purpose with regard to emancipists was to admit the leading men amongst them to his table, and to enrol them as magistrates. Nothing gave greater offence to the exclusionists than this. They attacked the character of Macquarie's "pets," but these attacks were mainly a smoke screen. The real objection to these men, as one historian who condemns Macquarie whole-heartedly admits, was that they had been convicts; their characters were a minor matter. In any case they led better, more moral, and certainly more useful lives than many who were admitted within the charmed circle without question. Macquarie mentions four of them in his despatch of 1810; only one, D'Arcy Wentworth, the principal surgeon, had never been a convict, though Macquarie ranked him with the emancipists. A second was Andrew Thompson, who had been one of Bligh's right-hand men and the superintendent of his farm at the Hawkesbury. Thompson, a native of Scotland, had been transported at the age of sixteen for setting fire to a haystack. He had become one of the leading landowners and farmers on the Hawkesbury, and was besides a shipbuilder and shipowner, with several vessels engaged in sealing and whaling in Bass Strait and on the New Zealand coast. His enemies alleged that he had made money out of illicit distillation; if so he shared in a prevailing fault. Simeon Lord, another emancipist, was one of the leading merchants and shipowners of Sydney, and a man of considerable wealth. William Redfern, the assistant surgeon, had been transported because he had, when a youth of twenty serving in the Navy, participated in the mutiny of the *Nore*. The only part he seems to have taken was to advise the

mutineers to be more united amongst themselves. Redfern was a man of excellent character and much respected in Sydney. But, in spite of Macquarie's personal example, with all his efforts he could never overcome entirely the social disqualification. He failed to carry his point entirely even with the officers. When his own regiment, the 73rd, was replaced, after four years, by the 46th, the officers of that regiment decided that, though they might have to meet emancipists at Government House, they would not invite any of them to the mess or have any social intercourse with them. Macquarie was very naturally annoyed, and contended that what was good enough for him was good enough for his subordinates. He was specially angry at an address which the officers arranged to present to their colonel, which asserted that the mess-table of the 46th Regiment was regarded as the standard of society in the colony. This insult to the Governor was deleted, but no doubt the officers and the exclusionists outside believed it. The officers of the 46th had, before their arrival in New South Wales, agreed together not to have any social intercourse with persons who had ever been convicts, and not to engage in any trading, farming, or grazing business. Macquarie dryly remarks that their adherence to the "no-trading" rule was by no means so strict as to the other. The feud between Macquarie and the officers of the 46th was never more than partially healed.

*Petition  
against  
Disquali-  
fications.*

Macquarie continued his patronage of the emancipists right to the end. In October, 1821, he sent to Lord Bathurst a very interesting petition from them with the remark that he was "most warmly interested in the future happiness and prosperity of these people," and that their dearest rights and privileges, and also those of their descendants, were deeply involved in the removal of the disqualifications under which they laboured. The petition sets out the number of emancipists as 7,556 with 5,859 children, and that of the free settlers at only 1,558 with 870 children. The emancipists are stated to possess 29,028 acres under cultivation and 212,355 in pasture, 1,200 houses in the towns, 42,900 head of cattle, 174,179 sheep, 2,415 horses,

1824

18,563 swine, 15 vessels, and the sum of £150,000 invested in domestic and foreign trade. The figures given for the possessions of the free settlers are 10,787 acres cultivated, 198,369 in pasture, 300 horses, 28,582 cattle, 87,391 sheep, 1,553 horses, 6,304 swine, 8 vessels, and £100,000 invested in trade and commerce. The aggregate value of the emancipists' property is reckoned as £1,123,600, and that of the free settlers as £597,460. The petitioners pointed out that the civil court had recently held that convicts were not restored to their full civil and legal rights unless their names were inserted in a pardon under the Great Seal of England. As pardons were issued in New South Wales under the Governor's seal, this left the emancipists in a very invidious position. The petition for relief was signed by 1,400 persons, and Edward Eager and William Redfern were sent to London with it. In 1824 a measure was passed giving the relief sought and also setting out that conditionally or incompletely pardoned convicts might maintain any action or suit for the recovery of property.

Macquarie's rule was marked by important developments in the administration of justice. Up to his time the only court in New South Wales was made up of the Judge-Advocate and six military or naval officers, and this dealt with all cases, civil and criminal, not within the ordinary jurisdiction of the magistrates. The first three Judge-Advocates were not lawyers, and the court could expect little guidance from such a man as Richard Atkins, who was drunken as well as ignorant and incapable. Some remarkable verdicts were given by these military courts. In 1813 two officers of the 73rd regiment, Lieutenants MacNaughton and Connor, made a brutal and unprovoked assault in the streets of Sydney on a man named William Holmes. The court found them both guilty of manslaughter, and imposed the remarkably lenient sentence of a fine of 1s. and imprisonment for six months in the Parramatta Gaol. Macquarie showed what he thought of the affair when Connor returned to Sydney in 1816 to be married. Macquarie compelled him to leave the colony by the ship in which he arrived. This prevented the marriage, for the ship sailed

1809

*The  
Supreme  
Court.*

before the ordinary banns could be published and Macquarie refused a special licence.

In 1809 Ellis Bent, an English barrister, had been appointed Judge-Advocate in succession to Atkins, "whose want of professional education and practice has led to great inconveniences." Macquarie submitted in 1813 a proposal for the establishment of a Supreme Court at Sydney, and of a system of trial by jury in all criminal cases, and in certain civil cases. True to his principles, Macquarie urged that emancipists should be eligible to serve as jurymen. A civil court was established in 1814 under Jeffrey Bent, but the authorities in England declined to agree to the proposal for trial by jury. The brothers Bent spent a good deal of their leisure in quarrelling with Macquarie. One bone of contention was the position of emancipist lawyers. Macquarie urged that they should be allowed to practise in the courts. Jeffrey Bent refused to allow this in the Supreme Court, and gave the rather far-fetched reason that if ex-convicts were allowed to practise in Sydney it would be impossible to prevent any person who had been struck off the rolls in England from appearing in court. Sydney would, he argued, become a Mecca for such persons. As the court consisted, besides the Judge, of two magistrates appointed by the Governor, and these took Macquarie's view of the matter, no sittings of the Supreme Court took place for two years. The two magistrates who acted with Ellis Bent were of the opposite opinion, and agreed that no lawyer who had been struck off the rolls in any part of the King's Dominions should be allowed to appear in their court. The question was referred to Lord Bathurst, who supported the judges on the matter of principle, but censured them for the way in which the principle had been brought forward and acted upon. Ellis Bent died in 1815, and Jeffrey Bent was recalled in 1816. To Jeffrey Bent succeeded Barron Field, who attained some notoriety by publishing a volume of verse entitled "First-Fruits of Australian Poetry." This was printed at Sydney in 1819, and on the title-page was the characteristic jingle:

"I first adventure, follow me who list,  
And be a second Austral harmonist."

A critic remarked of them:

1819

Thy poems, Barron Field, I've read,  
And thus adjudge their meed:  
So poor a crop proclaims thy head  
A barren field indeed.

Field seems, however, to have been better as a judge than as a poet. His decision with regard to the status of convicts, already mentioned, caused alarm and tended to embroil him with Macquarie, but seems to have been a correct interpretation of the law as it then stood.

Lack of currency for circulation had always been a difficulty in New South Wales. The only money available was *Coins and Currency Notes*. that sent from England, and occasional sums received from abroad in payment for exports. The balance of trade was always against the colony, and the coin in circulation tended to drift away to China or elsewhere in payment for imports. A most heterogeneous collection of coins circulated in the colony. Spanish dollars from Mexico, then the great silver-producing country of the world, long held a position equal and often superior to that of English coin. Indian rupees and pagodas, rix-dollars from the Cape of Good Hope, coins from the Netherlands Indies, and other places, were also current. In 1812 Macquarie received a shipment of £10,000 worth of Mexican dollars. To keep them from being exported, and also to spin them out as much as possible, he adopted the singular device of cutting a piece out of the middle of each. This, called the "dump," was minted as equal to 1s. 3d. in value, while the remainder, the "holey dollar," still passed current at 5s. An ingenious convict made a machine for minting these new coins. Macquarie found that the colonists were supplying the want of real money by using notes of hand. Numbers of these "promises to pay" issued by the merchants and others in New South Wales and Tasmania, and later in Victoria, Western Australia, and New Zealand, are still extant. Some are for sums as low as 3d.

As the Governor pointed out, the use of these notes opened the way for fraud and imposition, and he urged in 1810 the establishment of a Government Bank. He advised

1817

that a special fund should be created by the Government, and the currency deposited in the loan bank, which would lend it out to land-owners at 6 per cent. The settlers would then improve their lands, which would become the best of securities for the value of the notes. This proposal bore no fruit for several years, but in 1817 Macquarie issued a charter incorporating the Bank of New South Wales with a capital of £20,000. The bank was given power to issue notes for amounts ranging from 2s. 6d. to £5, and to charge interest not exceeding 10 per cent. on loans. The charter was disallowed by the authorities in England; but the Bank was carried on as a private affair, and is still a prosperous institution. To it the development of New South Wales in particular, and of Australia in general, owes a great deal.

*Education  
and  
Religion.*

In the promotion of education and religion Macquarie was indefatigable. Owing to the dispersion of the population over the country, and the peculiar conditions of the colony and the circumstances of those who composed it, both matters offered many difficulties. Family life was too often in little esteem in the earlier days of the colony. To provide for the children whose parents were unable or unwilling to look after them Governor King had established an orphan school. Macquarie continued it, and also established schools in many outlying parts of the colony. Though himself a strict member of the Church of England, he was not illiberal towards other Churches. He laid the foundation stone of the first Roman Catholic Church in Sydney. He had something of a prejudice against the Methodists, remarking when a Methodist preacher arrived: "We want regular and pious clergymen of the Church of England, and not sectaries, for a new and rising colony like this." Yet he did not prevent them from establishing themselves in the colony.

*Flogging of  
a Freeman.*

In small matters as in great, Macquarie ruled as an autocrat. It was one of the minor exercises of his arbitrary power that indirectly contributed to his recall. Macquarie had enclosed a part of the Government Domain in Sydney with a stone wall. There were two gateways, but many persons used to climb over the wall or break it down. According to Macquarie they not only damaged the shrubs

1824

and trees, but used the grounds for hiding stolen goods and for other unlawful purposes. Three men, one free and the others free by servitude, were arrested for getting over the wall, and were given twenty-five lashes each by Macquarie's order. The free man, William Blake, went to London to exhibit his stripes. The enemies of Macquarie made the most of this as of other incidents tending to show the arbitrary and despotic nature of his rule.

This and other complaints against Macquarie, and *Inquiry by Commissioner Bigge.* an uneasy feeling that transportation to New South Wales was losing all its terrors for evil-doers, and was, in fact, coming to be looked upon as something to be desired, led to the sending to Australia of a Special Commissioner, John Thomas Bigge, a London barrister, to examine and report upon the system of government, the whole question of transportation, and the treatment of convicts. Bigge spent two years in this enquiry, accumulated a vast mass of evidence, and presented reports which had an important influence on the development of Australia. He condemned Macquarie's well-meant efforts to raise the status of the emancipists. Bigge was far-sighted enough to see what the pastoral industry could be made to mean to Australia, and he strongly recommended the encouragement of wool-growing. Free settlers should be given liberal grants of land, and convict labour assigned to them even more freely than had been the case under Macquarie, whose great public works had meant the employment of numbers of convicts on Government undertakings. Bigge recommended that the practice of having large gangs of convicts in the towns should be broken up. The formation of out-settlements as places of secondary punishment for convicts of the more troublesome type was recommended. This last recommendation led to the establishment of a penal settlement at Port Macquarie in Northern New South Wales, and a little later (1824) to the foundation of the first permanent settlement in what is now Queensland, the penal colony of Moreton Bay on the Brisbane River.

## CHAPTER VIII

### COLONISTS, CONVICTS, AND ABORIGINES

1821

—  
*Constitutional Development.*

SIR Thomas Brisbane, who succeeded Macquarie, was Governor only from 1821 to 1825, but his rule was a most important period in the history of Australia. It fell to Brisbane to carry into effect many of the recommendations of Bigge. On the one hand he transformed New South Wales from a purely penal settlement into a colony in which the controlling element was the free settlers using the labour of convicts, on the other he paved the way for constitutional government. Brisbane had had a very distinguished military career, and owed his position largely to the recommendation of the Duke of Wellington. It is said that when Wellington recommended Brisbane, Bathurst replied that he wanted a man to govern, not the heavens, but the earth. And during much of his administration Brisbane seemed more interested in watching the heavenly bodies from his observatory at Parramatta than in busying himself with the details of governing the colony. As the result of the work of the observatory a catalogue of 7,385 stars was given to the world. But he left his mark also in the history of Australia. He made little attempt to continue the good work of Macquarie in improving the position and prospects of the emancipists, and while his own ideas of the development of Australia were liberal and far-sighted, his designs were often thwarted or maimed by the officials to whom he left the carrying out of them. The higher officials largely favoured the exclusive party which was opposed to the extension of the civil rights of the community at large and stood for the supremacy of its own caste.

*Sale of Crown Lands.* Early in his government Brisbane laid it down as a condition of granting land that the person receiving the land

must relieve the Government of the maintenance of one convict for each 100 acres granted, and in 1824 Brisbane, acting on a suggestion by Bigge, introduced the new and revolutionary principle of selling Crown lands. Up till that time no land had been sold in Australia; it had been leased or granted subject to a quit-rent. Brisbane laid it down that the minimum price should be 5s. an acre and that in more favoured situations a higher price should be charged. The price of land in the county of Cumberland, near Sydney, for instance, was to be from 7s. 6d. to 10s. an acre. We see the germ of the later idea of preventing the aggregation of large estates in land in Brisbane's stipulation that no individual should be allowed to buy more than 4,000 and no family more than 5,000 acres. Brisbane initiated a practice which was to be the cause of many evils later by ordering that the proceeds of land sales should be paid into the general revenue. He considered that the land revenue was one of the most legitimate sources of revenue for this colony; and long afterwards, when the Crown Lands were alienated on a great scale, the proceeds were spent lavishly, while the lands were disposed of and little permanent benefit was derived by the State. Had the land revenue been treated as capital and used in order to avoid the necessity for piling up heavy public debts by borrowing money for developmental work, Australia would have been much better off.

The attention of English capitalists was directed towards Australia in Brisbane's time. A company with a capital of £1,000,000 was formed and was granted 1,000,000 acres at Port Stephens, on the Liverpool Plains and at Newcastle. This association, the Australian Agricultural Company, sent out valuable stock and engaged in agriculture on a considerable scale. It also worked the coal-mines at Newcastle, and was given a thirty-one years' monopoly of the right to raise coal at Newcastle. This monopoly was given up in 1847. In 1825 a similar but smaller company, the Van Diemen's Land Company, received a grant of 500,000 acres in the North-west of Tasmania, subject to a quit-rent of £468 10s. a year, which was to be reduced by £10 for each convict employed. The Company selected mostly the poor

*Introduction  
of Capital.*

1825

*Clearing  
Land for  
Colonists.*

open country, but in the long run some of the rich, heavily timbered land included more or less by accident proved its best asset.

A great material improvement in the agricultural condition of the colony was brought about by Brisbane's action in organising gangs of convicts to clear land for settlers. The settler paid six bushels of wheat (then valued at 8s. 6d. a bushel) for each acre cleared. Each gang consisted of an overseer and twenty-two men. In two years 11,503 acres were cleared, or nearly a fifth of the total area cleared between 1788 and 1821. Brisbane also fixed a regular scale for the issue to convicts of tickets of leave, a matter previously handled in a haphazard fashion. Now a man transported for seven years became conditionally free if his conduct had been good at the end of four years; and so in proportion for other sentences.

*Nominee  
Legislative  
Council.*

The first faint glimmerings of constitutional government date from Brisbane's reign. It had indeed been suggested in Macquarie's early days that some kind of an advisory council should be appointed; but nothing came of it, and Macquarie ruled alone until the end. But an Act passed in 1823 provided that the Governor should have the assistance of a nominee legislative council. The first Council consisted of five members nominated by the Governor, all of them men holding official positions. The Council could not initiate legislation, but it could advise the Governor and make laws and ordinances on matters remitted to it. All proposed laws were submitted to the Governor and had to be certified to by the Chief Justice as not inconsistent with the laws of England.

*Freedom of  
Press and  
Trial by  
Jury.*

The measure which established the Council also provided for abolishing the Judge-Advocate's court, which was replaced by the criminal jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. This did away with the last semblance of military rule, and Brisbane also introduced a notable change by removing the censorship of the press. Up to this time the only newspaper of any kind in Sydney had been the *Sydney Gazette*, the proof-sheets of which were subject to revision and censorship by the Government Secretary. One result of this

new freedom was the establishment of the *Australian* by W. C. Wentworth in 1824. Wentworth and his supporters were by no means satisfied with the measure of free institutions given under Brisbane's rule. Wentworth had published in 1819, before returning to Sydney, a violent but vigorous work about New South Wales in which he demanded representative institutions, including trial by jury. The small instalment given under Brisbane by no means satisfied him. Indeed, Brisbane fell between two stools as far as popularity went. The exclusives disliked and distrusted his reforms and his policy; while the emancipists and the advocates of change considered that he did not go nearly far or fast enough.

Brisbane welcomed the order for his recall. In a private letter to his successor, General Darling, written as early as 1823, Brisbane thus summed up his position: "Of old, you recollect, I was not violent nor of a querulous disposition, but here an angel from heaven could not get on. And it is not the convicts nor the emancipated colonists, who uniformly behaved well, but it is your settlers and people who style themselves gentlemen and the magistrates who generally do all they can to thwart the Government regulations and the Government measures." Darling added that in his opinion the worst offenders were the Government officials. Elsewhere he remarked that, judging by some of the appointments made from England, there must be an opinion that New South Wales offered a "suitable asylum for fools and madmen as well as for rogues and vagabonds."

As in an absolute monarchy much depends on the character of the monarch, so in old New South Wales the character of the Governor was a very important matter. Ralph Darling, who governed from 1825 to 1831, belonged to a very different type from that represented by Brisbane. While Brisbane excelled in the broad outlines of administration, but failed in working out the details and in seeing that his measures were properly carried out, Darling was a man of method and detail, but lacking in broadness of vision and in wide outlook. Darling was a hard worker, and strove with some success to put on a sounder footing the Civil

*Position of  
the Governor.*

1830

Service, which was largely manned by ex-convicts of questionable character, who indulged in many mispractices. Darling's Legislative Council differed from Brisbane's in that it included three non-official members, John Macarthur, Robert Campbell, a Sydney merchant, and Charles Throsby, who honourably distinguished himself as an explorer and pioneer in the outlying southern districts of the colony. In 1828 a new Constitution Act was passed which still further increased the numbers of the Council to fifteen, of whom seven were not officials. In 1830 trial by jury was, with the advice and consent of the Council, established on a permanent footing. This measure allowed emancipists, with certain exceptions, to act as jurymen; but those who had been again convicted in the colony were excluded.

*The Newspapers and the Sudds Case.*

Darling was soon embroiled in quarrels with the newly freed press, which had allowed its freedom to go to great lengths. John Macarthur in 1827 described the newspapers as "all in the convict interest," and their editors as "all desperate rascals, alike shameless and unprincipled." Macarthur as an exclusionist was a prejudiced witness, but in view of the conditions of the colony the newspapers certainly went to remarkable lengths in their attacks on the authorities.

One cause of conflict throws a curious light on the convict system and indicates that even under Darling it was not nearly as black as it has since been painted. It appeared to some of the soldiers stationed in New South Wales that the position of the convicts was better than their own. Convicts when emancipated obtained grants of land, and many became prosperous men, but the soldiers served for meagre pay and were subject to rigid discipline. Several soldiers mutilated themselves to secure their discharges, and others committed robberies in order to obtain the coveted status of convicts. In November, 1826, two soldiers, Francis Sudds and Patrick Thompson, committed a robbery with this end in view. They were sentenced to seven years at an out-settlement, but Darling commuted their sentence to hard labour on the roads in chains and had them drummed out of the regiment. With iron collars on their necks and

irons weighing fourteen pounds on their legs they were marched to gaol. Sudds was alleged to have been ill at the time, and he sickened and died. His death was made the occasion for furious attacks on Darling, who was described as a "torturer." Charges were repeatedly made against Darling, and eventually a committee of the House of Commons inquired into the case and reported that Darling was free from blame.

Whether he was to blame or not the incident served as the occasion for furious attacks by the opposition newspapers of the day, the *Australian*, conducted by Wentworth and his friend Dr. Wardell, and the *Monitor*. Wentworth went so far as to talk of impeaching Darling. The real reason for the attacks on Darling was largely, no doubt, disappointment that greater legislative freedom had not been given to the colony.

After a good deal of provocation Darling proposed to *Licensing and Stamp Duty* legislate to restrict the freedom of the press. Bills were drafted for the licensing of newspapers and for imposing a stamp duty of 4d. on each copy. Here, however, he was checkmated by the Chief Justice, Francis Forbes, who refused to certify that the licensing provision and the stamp duty were consistent with the laws of England. Prosecutions for libel against Wardell also failed, the judges being distinctly favourable to the opposition party. The peaceful arena of the law-courts was not the only scene of warfare. The duel was still in existence, and Wardell fought duels first with the Attorney-General, Saxe Bannister, and then with Darling's brother-in-law, Colonel Dumaresq. No one was much injured, and later fines and imprisonment were inflicted on the editor of the *Monitor* and on the publisher of the *Australian*.

In spite, or because, of the tightening up of the penal system by Darling as compared with the rather easy-going methods of his predecessor, crime increased in violence in New South Wales in Darling's days. Norfolk Island had recently been reoccupied as a penal settlement, and in 1827 the convicts rose on their guards. Fifty of them overcame their overseers and fled to Philip Island, a small

1827

isle some miles away, leaving only one damaged boat on the main island. It was repaired and eventually all the runaways were recaptured. In the same year the convicts on the *Wellington*, which was carrying them to Norfolk Island, seized the vessel and forced the captain to navigate her according to their instructions. They sailed for South America, but unluckily for themselves put into the Bay of Islands in New Zealand. The whalers *Sisters* and *Harriet* were lying in the Bay and their captains suspected that the new-comers were runaways. They attacked the *Wellington*, which surrendered. The convicts who escaped on shore were seized and given up by the Maoris and sent to Sydney. Of the fifty-nine convicts concerned in this escapade five were executed and the rest, with a cruel mercy, had the death sentence commuted to transportation for life to Norfolk Island.

*Case of the  
"Educated  
Convicts."*

A curious sidelight is thrown on the convict system by a despatch sent to Governor Darling in 1826. In this Lord Bathurst recommends that in no case should an educated convict (that is, one who had not been subjected to hard labour during his imprisonment) be allowed to become a free settler in Australia. Educated convicts would only be transported for life or for fourteen years, and in the latter case they were to be obliged to leave the colony when their term expired. In his reply Governor Darling remarks that there were practically no educated convicts in New South Wales. One of the two or three who did answer to that description was John Knatchbull, a brother of Sir Edward Knatchbull, who was employed as a constable in carrying letters, and " seems perfectly satisfied with that condition." John Knatchbull was in 1844 hanged for a most atrocious murder committed in Sydney.

*Bushranging  
Outbreaks.*

But though " educated " convicts gave no trouble, there was a remarkable outbreak of the evil called bushranging in Darling's reign. In Hunter's time, about 1799, the men who wandered afield into the bush, hunters and others, were termed bushrangers with no connotation of crime. But gradually the word came to be confined to banditti, who " took to the bush " and lived by rapine. At this stage the

bushrangers were nearly all escaped convicts, though in Tasmania deserters from the Army and even defaulting civil servants had taken a high position in the profession. Houses were plundered and wayfarers robbed within a few miles of Sydney, and in the remoter parts of the colony there was something like a reign of terror. Marsden, the senior chaplain, was waylaid and robbed, and Dr. Wardell was shot dead near his own house. In 1830 a very stringent measure, the Bushranging Act, provided that suspected persons might be arrested without a warrant and be detained until they proved that they were innocent. Persons found with firearms, for the possession of which they could not account to the satisfaction of a magistrate, were liable to imprisonment for three years. Armed with these powers, the forces of law and order—especially the mounted police, recruited from the military—eventually prevailed. The most important outbreak of bushranging was in the Bathurst district, where it threatened to develop into a convict insurrection. More than fifty armed convicts gathered at the Campbell River and fought fierce, but not decisive, skirmishes with the settlers and police; and not till a detachment of the 39th Regiment arrived did the bushrangers surrender. Ten died on the gallows at Bathurst.

Bushrangers were not the only disturbers of the peace *Harsh Dealings with Aborigines.* about this period. The relations of the white men to the native inhabitants of the country are not such as can be contemplated with pride or even equanimity. Not only were the natives slowly but surely pushed away from their hunting grounds by the intruding white man, but they were depraved and corrupted by the drink and disease introduced by the colonists, and were in too many cases brutally treated or murdered by the stockkeepers and others drawn from the convict population, not to mention the outrages committed on them by the bushrangers. In the beginning the natives were friendly enough, and Governor Phillip had laboured earnestly to see that they were fairly treated. When a black man wounded him with a spear, Phillip refused to allow the aborigine to be punished. But even in Phillip's day the convicts and others (for by no means all the blame

1827

belonged to the prisoners of the Crown) maltreated the natives, who retaliated by spearing stray white men.

Under Phillip's successors the settlers who pushed out to the Hawkesbury and other regions were under little or no restraint. Some convicts, like John Wilson, the man selected by Hunter to lead a party across the mountains, lived with the natives for years, learned their language, and adopted their mode of life. According to Hunter, some of these runaways instigated the natives with whom they associated to plunder the settlers. In one case the aborigines even turned pirates, put out in their canoes, and seized and plundered a boat bound from the Hawkesbury to Sydney.

*Murders of  
Aborigines.*

As to crimes against the natives, settlers convicted of the cold-blooded murder of native boys at the Hawkesbury were allowed by Governor Hunter to escape punishment. Governor Macquarie was well disposed towards the natives, and made well-meant efforts to induce them to settle down and cultivate the soil and to educate their children. Yet even in his days there was a punitive expedition which shot down numbers of natives; the slaying on the edges of the settlement went on, and there were men amongst the free settlers who "thought no more of shooting a native than of shooting a crow." Such crimes almost always went unpunished. In the twenties there was much trouble with the natives on the Hunter River, who were malicious enough to defend themselves. In 1826 the settlers petitioned Darling for protection against the aborigines. Darling in reply told the settlers to unite and take measures for their own defence, and the settlers took the hint, and the Attorney-General reported that "exceedingly violent proceedings were going on on both sides." Lieutenant Lowe, the officer in command at Wallis Plains, was tried in 1827 for having shot an aborigine named Jacky-Jacky, who had been arrested on some charge. There was little doubt that Jacky-Jacky was summarily shot without trial. An aborigine tried at the same session of the court was convicted and duly hanged, but Lowe was acquitted.

How the natives were treated about this time in a very remote part of Australia may be gathered from the state-

*Doings in  
Western  
Australia.*

1838

ment of G. F. Moore, one of the earliest settlers in Western Australia. A man who had come from Van Diemen's Land saw some inoffensive natives on the road and fired at them, remarking that that was how they treated the "black rascals" in Van Diemen's Land. The aborigines in return waylaid this man and another and speared them. Then the settlers turned out and hunted down the aborigines.

But the most atrocious and unprovoked massacre of the natives took place in New South Wales a little later. About forty natives, more than half of them women and children, had camped in 1838 near a cattle station at Myall Creek in the north of New South Wales. The overseer of the station was away for a few days, and when he returned the natives had disappeared. In a hollow some distance away he found the half-burnt remains of twenty-eight of them—men, women, and children—being devoured by dingoes and birds of prey. The hut-keeper of the station admitted that a number of armed white men from neighbouring stations had come to the place, tied the aborigines with ropes, driven them to this place, and murdered them in cold blood, afterwards making a fire to burn the bodies. Those aborigines who escaped were hunted down and killed. One of the murderers, a free man who had never been a convict, escaped by riding night and day to Sydney, over three hundred miles away, and shipping away to Van Diemen's Land. Eleven men were tried for murder, of whom seven were convicted and duly hanged, in spite of many protests. At the trial Judge Burton stated that there was not the slightest reason for supposing that the blacks had been concerned in any depredations or attacks on the white men. The men who were hanged confessed to their crime and incidentally showed the state of feeling in the remote parts of the colony at that day. "We were not aware," they said, "that in killing blacks we were violating the law or that it could take any notice of our doing so, as it has (according to our belief) been so frequently done in the colony before."

How the aborigines were treated at the time of the Myall Creek massacre, or a little later in the Port Phillip district, may be gathered even from the *ex parte* statements

*Settlers and  
Savages at  
Port Phillip.*

1838

made by some of the settlers themselves. W. J. T. Clarke mentions the conflicts between the shepherds and the natives and the shooting of a number of the latter, and adds quite seriously: "Soon after the natives became less numerous and more peaceable." The real cause of very much of the trouble is thus touched on by Mr. Hutton: "Had the white men not been over-familiar with them for the sole purpose of getting their women, many of the outrages they perpetrated might have been avoided." Even at this time it was alleged that at least one settler in Victoria had adopted the device of poisoning the natives by giving them arsenic mixed in flour. How the native inhabitants in Tasmania were exterminated will be told later.

## CHAPTER IX

### NEW SETTLEMENTS AND THE OPENING OF THE INTERIOR

By the year 1825 the natural outward flow of settlers with their sheep and cattle seeking for new pastures had spread settlement more or less thinly over an area of over fifty thousand square miles on the eastern side of New South Wales, though much of this was but thinly occupied. The need for a new place to send convicts to had led in 1824 to the founding of the first settlement in what is now Queensland. In 1823 the Surveyor-General Oxley explored the coast and landed on the shores of Moreton Bay. Amongst the tribe of aborigines who came to meet his party was a light coloured man who hailed the strangers in English. This was Thomas Pamphlet, one of four cedar-getters who had left Sydney some months before for Illawarra. Their boat was driven out to sea in a storm, and it was only after twenty-four days, in the course of which one of them died of thirst, that they made the land again. Thinking, according to Pamphlet's story, that they had been driven on the coast to the southward of Sydney, they went northward and fell in with a tribe of aborigines, who treated them kindly. During their wanderings, Pamphlet and his companions discovered the Brisbane River, hitherto unknown. Oxley sailed up it for fifty miles, and as the result of his report convicts were sent to occupy it. Moreton Bay remained a place of secondary exile until 1849, when it ceased to be a penal settlement.

The severity of the discipline under Major Logan (1825-1830) made it a place of evil repute. Logan was finally speared by the aborigines, but it was alleged that the murder was instigated by the convicts. One of the stories told by Thomas Petrie, whose father settled at Brisbane in the con-

1825

—  
*First  
Settlement in  
Queensland.*

1825

*Fear of  
Foreign  
Action.*

vict days, was that the stuffed skin of an aborigine, who had been shot while plundering the maize-fields, was used as a scarecrow.

The extension of settlement to the north, south, and west coasts of the continent was due, not to any need for new settlements at the moment, but to a desire to prevent the French from establishing a claim. French explorers, especially Dumont D'Urville, who explored much of the coast in 1825-1826, were again active in the Southern seas, and the authorities both in Australia and in England were anxious. In 1826 we find Captain Stirling, in an official report recommending the settlement of the Swan River, stating that there is "one French vessel-of-war in these seas with objects not clearly understood, and an American vessel-of-war also in this neighbourhood seeking a place for a settlement." It seems strange now to read of American proposals for settlement on the coast of Western Australia, but it did not seem so improbable then. American whalers operated along the coast by scores, and N. Ogle, in his book on Western Australia, published in 1838, says: "It is due to the Americans to state that we are more indebted to them than to any others for our knowledge of the inlets and anchorages of the Western seaboard." In 1828 we find it stated in the newspapers in Van Diemen's Land that the French had actually landed and founded a settlement at Shark's Bay, a report which was, of course, quite untrue.

When the colony of New South Wales was founded, the British Government included within its limits the eastern half only of Australia. Steps were now taken not only to assert, but to make good, a claim to the western half as well. The saying, "A continent for a nation, and a nation for a continent," was not coined till seventy years later, but Governor Darling and his superiors in England were not slow to see that the whole of Australia was British.

*Melville  
Island  
and Port  
Essington.*

The first step was taken in 1824, when Captain Bremer, of H.M.S. *Tamar*, was sent from England via Sydney to found a settlement in tropical Australia. He landed about fifty convicts and soldiers at a place which he named Fort Dundas on Melville Island in the far north. To-day a few heaps of

1824

bricks, a round shot or two, and a few other relics, overgrown with trees and bushes, mark the site of the settlement. The aborigines of the island, long reckoned one of the fiercest and most warlike tribes of the north, made war on the settlement and cut off those who wandered even a few yards from the forts. It had been hoped that trade would be opened up with the Malays who frequented the coast; but they did not visit the narrow and treacherous Apsley Strait, at the mouth of which the settlement was placed. Two vessels employed to bring cattle and supplies from the island east of Timor—the historic *Lady Nelson* and the schooner *Stedcombe*—were cut off by piratical Malays. In 1829 the settlement was abandoned for good and all. From 1827 to 1829 a settlement was maintained at Raffles Bay on the mainland. In 1831 Port Essington, which Bremer had examined but rejected because he could not find a good supply of water, was made the site of a settlement which endured till 1849, when it too ceased to be. The Malays did visit Port Essington in considerable numbers on their annual trips to Australia, but trade was limited because the few settlers had little or nothing to sell. The only permanent result of the twenty-five years' effort to settle this northern territory was the introduction into Australia of the buffalo of the East Indies. These ran wild both on Melville Island and on the mainland, and still roam there in thousands, although they have been hunted for years for the sake of their hides and horns.

Further precautions against any attempt by France to claim part of Australia were taken in 1826, when two expeditions, each consisting of twenty soldiers and twenty convicts, were sent from Sydney, one to each end of the southern coast-line. The first, under the command of Captain Wright, was sent to Westernport mainly on the strength of an error made by an overland expedition, to be described presently, which had mistaken Port Phillip for Westernport and had brought back a very favourable account of the country. The second expedition, under Major Lockyer, was sent to King George's Sound. In Governor Darling's instructions to Lockyer and Wright, dated November 4,

1826

1826, a definite claim to the whole of Australia as a British possession is put forward. The French corvette *L'Astrolabe* had been in both Westernport and in King George's Sound before the British arrived, but, writes Darling, "Captain D'Unville would lead me to believe that his expedition is solely for the purposes of general science." Darling added that he would not be surprised to learn that the French had some intention of fixing themselves in New Zealand. As a matter of fact, such an attempt was unofficially made, but that was fourteen years later. The little settlement at Westernport lingered on for a couple of years and was then abandoned. The country immediately around the bay was poor, and much of it occupied by either marshes or scrub and thickets. Darling reported that there was no inclination on the part of settlers to go to Westernport. But the few who did talk of going there received little encouragement. John Batman, a settler in Tasmania, proposed to take sheep over, but his application for a grant of land for that purpose was not entertained. In 1827 Michael Phillips applied to the authorities in England for 4,000 acres of land at Westernport, with the right to buy 4,000 more, and stated that he proposed to grow wheat for export to Brazil. Nothing, however, came of the proposal. It is interesting to notice that the first grain, apart from a tiny patch grown by explorers, raised in what is now the colony of Victoria, was produced on Phillip Island in Westernport. When Captain Wright arrived, he found settled on the island a party of sealers from Port Dalrymple in Tasmania who had a couple of acres under wheat, as well as some other ground in cultivation.

The settlement at King George's Sound survived. It was absorbed in a few years in the settlement in Western Australia founded direct from England, the story of which will be told later.

*Winning of  
the Western  
Plains.*

After the opening up of the Bathurst Plains by the making of a road across the Blue Mountains, the exploration of the great western plains of New South Wales was pushed on by Governor Macquarie and his successors. Apart from the expeditions sent out for the express purpose of discovery,

the owners of cattle and sheep were always pushing out further and further into the wilderness. The great open grassy plains that stretched away westward for hundreds of miles tempted them on, and there was growing up a race of native-born white men brought up to pastoral life and skilled in all knowledge of the Bush. Such a man was Hamilton Hume, a native of Parramatta, like John Batman, the founder of Victoria. From 1817 onwards Hume opened up and pioneered the country on the tablelands to the south-west of Sydney.

Runaway convicts, too, fled beyond the limits of settlement, lived with the aborigines, and sometimes returned with strange tales of great rivers and inland waters. As early as 1815 a band of convicts set off down the Macquarie River in the hope of reaching New Guinea. They returned to Bathurst almost starved but with favourable reports of the country they had visited. In 1817 Macquarie sent the Surveyor-General Oxley to follow the course of the Lachlan River. Oxley kept on until the river seemed to lose itself in vast flooded marshes. He described the country into which he had penetrated as useless for the purposes of civilised men. Next year Oxley followed the Macquarie, but with much the same result. Oxley concluded that both rivers ran into an inland sea or lake. This mythical inland sea haunted the imagination of theorists and explorers for years to come. Oxley, in returning, struck across the country to the northward of Bathurst and came upon the richly grassed plateaux of the Liverpool Plains and of New England, and down the precipitous eastern slopes to the sea at Port Macquarie.

The extension of pastoral settlement was stimulated by the recommendations in the report of Commissioner Bigge, who urged that every assistance should be given to the wool-growing industry and to the pastoral enterprises generally, and that settlers should be encouraged to push out into the interior. He also suggested that a nearer outlet to the sea might be found for the country in the far south-west by pushing through to the shores of Bass Strait. Already settlers had reached Lake George and were making their way

*Hume and  
Hovell's  
Explora-  
tions.*

1824

out towards the Upper Murrumbidgee. Governor Brisbane favoured the singular plan of landing a party of convicts at Wilson's Promontory and leaving them to make their way overland to Sydney. Those who won through were to be rewarded with free pardons. But this plan, reminiscent of Phillip's idea of landing convicts at the "South Cape of New Holland," came to nothing, and Brisbane consulted Alexander Berry, a leading merchant and landowner, who recommended to him Hamilton Hume, already known as an explorer and pioneer. Eventually Hume and William Hilton Hovell, a ship-captain who had turned settler, set out to find a way from Hume's station at Lake George to the northern shores of Bass Strait. With the help of some stores from the Government they set out in October, 1824, each accompanied by three assigned servants. After crossing the already known Murrumbidgee River they became entangled in rugged ranges, and saw to the south-east the high ridges, still covered in snow (as they always are except in the very height of summer) which culminate in Mount Kosciusko and form the highest point of the Australian continent. Hume bore to the westward to avoid the mountains, and after journeying through untraversed country they came to an unknown river flowing deep and strong towards the west. This they named the Hume (now the Upper Murray), and crossed it by making a rude raft of a tarpaulin stretched on the body of a dray as a frame.

*Journey to  
Port Phillip.*

Beyond the Murray they travelled south-west, skirting the mountain ranges, through a fine country and across several rivers flowing towards the Hume, the Mitta Mitta, the Ovens, and the Goulburn. After crossing the Goulburn they attempted to steer due south towards the coast, but were caught in a tangle of broken country covered with heavy forest, and after reaching Mount Disappointment were forced to turn back.

They then tried further to the west, and struck the low and comparatively open country of the Kilmore "Gap," through which the Melbourne-Sydney Railway now runs. Here they saw a trace of civilisation, for on the trees were the marks of an iron tomahawk, probably obtained originally by the

aborigines from the sealers of Bass Strait and passed on from hand to hand. From the hills they descended on to the fine open plains to the north-west and west of Port Phillip, and reached the sea a few miles from the site of the present city of Geelong. The party then turned back, and following in their old tracks reached Hume's station at Lake George after an absence of about three months. Unfortunately both Hume and Hovell thought that they had reached Westernport. In the unedifying controversy which arose many years afterwards, Hume maintained that the mistake was Hovell's, and that he had always contended that the arm of the sea which they reached was Port Phillip. He conveniently forgot his own letters to Governor Brisbane, written after his return, in which he definitely stated that he had travelled to Westernport and asked for a grant of land there. It was largely on the strength of this erroneous notion that Westernport was selected as the location of the settlement founded in 1826, and Hovell was sent with the expedition. It was obvious at once that Westernport was not the place that Hume and Hovell had reached. Brisbane, by the way, stated in a semi-official despatch that he had directed Hume and Hovell to go to Spencer's Gulf, but they had returned after going only as far as Westernport.

There was no immediate result from Hume and Hovell's expedition. The country north of the Upper Murray (or Hume) for the present furnished scope enough for the settlers' stock, and when the magnificent lands round Port Phillip were occupied the initial movement came overseas from the south, not from the north.

For the present the trend of occupation in New South Wales was rather towards the north. Allan Cunningham, a botanist, explored the country beyond New England, and in 1827 he reached the magnificent country of the Darling Downs, the richest part of what is now southern Queensland. Next year he set out from Moreton Bay and found a practicable route to the Downs from the coast through Cunningham's Gap.

All of these explorations had shown that from the Darling Downs to the Kilmore Gap, a distance of well-nigh a

1828

*The Rivers  
of the  
Murray  
Basin.*

thousand miles, there were numbers of rivers all running westward down the mountain slopes and across the plains. No one knew where they went, and the explorations of the coast already made had not revealed any large rivers finding their way to the sea which might be considered as outlets for all these western waters. The years 1826, 1827, and 1828 were marked by severe drought, and it was thought that the marshes which had blocked Oxley's progress down the Lachlan and the Macquarie ten years before might be dry. Captain Charles Sturt and Hamilton Hume set out in 1828 to follow the Macquarie. They went down the river till it dwindled to a small muddy channel amongst vast stretches of bushes and reeds. Pushing out westward on horseback, they came on a noble stream in a bed between high banks, running from north-east to south-west, which they named the Darling. Sturt's men rushed down to the water, but cried out with amazement that it was as "salt as the sea." This is probably an exaggeration; the water was no doubt brackish, as that of both the Murray and the Darling became in times of severe and long-continued drought.

*Sturt's Boat  
Voyage down  
the Murray.*

Foiled, by the saltiness of its waters, in his attempt to follow the Darling, Sturt turned back. In 1829 he again set out, this time to follow the Murrumbidgee. With a whaleboat in sections on a bullock dray, he travelled overland from Sydney accompanied by George Macleay, son of the Colonial Secretary, and a number of convicts. They pushed down the banks of the Murrumbidgee until swamps and marshes seemed to block the way, and then decided to take to the river. A depot was formed, the whaleboat was put together, trees were cut down and sawn up, and within a week, mainly owing to the skill and energy of a convict named Clayton, a second boat was completed. Sturt, Macleay, Sturt's servant Fraser, and five convicts embarked on the narrow turbid Murrumbidgee, its bed encumbered with logs and snags.

In one particularly dangerous stretch of water they were every minute expecting to be upset, when all at once the boat shot out into a broad river 100 yards wide, and flowing steadily westward. Down this they pushed on, making

friends with the scattered native tribes along the river, until a crowd of natives, larger than any they had yet seen, drawn up in battle array on a sandspit projecting into the river, threatened to put an end to their journey. But four men from a tribe with whose members they had just before made friends came up in the nick of time and persuaded the hostile savages to lay down their arms. Here Sturt found, coming into the Murray from the north, a large river, which he rightly conjectured to be the Darling.

Still the main river, which Sturt now named the Murray after Sir George Murray, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, flowed steadily westward through a dry region. Suddenly it turned to the south, and Sturt saw dim on the horizon hills which he correctly assumed to be the Mount Lofty range, to the east of St. Vincent's Gulf. An old aborigine whom they met described to them the roaring of the sea; and on the thirty-eighth day of their voyage they reached Lake Alexandrina, into which the Murray empties itself. Sturt landed on the shore of the lake and walked along the beach to the Murray mouth, the channel leading from the lake into Encounter Bay. The channel was shallow, and a tremendous surf broke across the entrance.

Reluctantly giving up the idea of taking the boat out to sea and sailing to Launceston, or even back to Sydney, Sturt and his companions entered on the long and terribly arduous journey up the river against the stream. Their salt meat was soon exhausted, and all that they had was a short allowance of flour with an occasional bird or fish. All day long, sometimes for thirteen or fourteen hours, they laboured at the oar. Sturt does full credit to the heroism and devotion of his convict companions, particularly Clayton, Mulholland, and Hopkinson. When they left Encounter Bay the tea and sugar were almost exhausted, and the men insisted that Sturt and Macleay should use this, pointing out that if it were divided amongst them all no one would have anything worth while. The men fell asleep at the oars, but they laboured on without a word of complaint. After thirty-nine days of labour they reached a point from which two men could be sent on for the provisions, and after a week they

*The Up-River Voyage.*

1828

returned, and the lives of their companions were saved. Sturt himself went blind as the result of hardship and privation, and it was some time before he recovered his sight.

*Value of  
Sturt's Work.*

Sturt's favourable report on the river-flats along the Lower Murray was one of the factors which led to the settlement of South Australia, and within nine years the overlanders were driving cattle from New South Wales down the Murray and on to Adelaide. Unlike some other explorers, both earlier and later, Sturt was able to state that in all his travels he had never taken the life of an aborigine. Sturt had been the first to navigate the Murray, "the Nile of Australia," which drains with its tributaries an area of nearly half a million square miles and affords the only system of inland navigation in Australia. Of all the inland explorations of Australia, his were the most important, and they were carried out at a cost to the Government of £265.

*Sir Thomas  
Mitchell's  
Expedi-  
tions.*

As much cannot be said for the much-advertised and costly expeditions of Major Thomas Mitchell, the Surveyor-General of New South Wales. In 1831 a convict named Clarke, nicknamed the "Barber," came back with a story that he had travelled for four months down a river to the north-west of the Liverpool Plains, called the Kindur, and had reached a sea across which light-coloured men came to seek for scented wood. Mitchell led a party to test this story, and though he failed to find the "Barber's" dream river he traced the course of several affluents of the Darling. In 1835 Mitchell visited the Darling lower down, and named Fort Bourke after Governor Sir Richard Bourke, who had succeeded Darling. Next year Mitchell proved what Sturt had already asserted, that the Darling flowed into the Murray. He then worked up the Murray and struck up the Loddon River, and crossed the watershed to the Glenelg, which he followed to the sea. Mitchell was rightly enthusiastic about the fertility and promise of Western Victoria, *Australia Felix*, as he called it. He wrote of "this Eden of which it seemed that I was the only Adam," of the "verdant solitudes" which he was the "first to explore" and by "survey to develop." But he was not the first Adam of

the new land. As he worked eastward from the mouth of the Glenelg he came upon a well-established settlement at Portland. As he returned he looked down from the heights, to which he gave the name of Mount Macedon (in place of Hume and Hovell's Mount Wentworth), towards the plains round Port Phillip on which Batman and other pioneers from Tasmania were already pasturing sheep. Within a very few years white men had spread far and wide over Mitchell's Eden, and assuredly they would have done so if he had never been born.

## CHAPTER X

### FROM VAN DIEMEN'S LAND TO VICTORIA

1813

To understand the motives which led to the founding of settlements in Victoria it is necessary to trace briefly the early history of Tasmania. After the union of the Port Dalrymple settlement with that in the south of the island, the country still made slow progress. Bushranging was a more virulent evil there than in New South Wales. The settled districts were fertile and well watered, so that the settlers prospered and were worth robbing, and at the same time the great extent of rugged country hemming in and separating the fertile districts offered great facilities to evildoers. The island, too, was made a receptacle for many convicts of the worst class from New South Wales.

After the death of Collins in 1810 and a short interregnum the jovial, reckless, and dissipated Colonel Davey ruled from 1813 to 1817. Under his rule the country was much vexed by a band of twenty-eight bushrangers headed by two "desperate men," Peter Wills and George Williams, who had been Government officials at Launceston, but had taken to the Bush to escape their creditors. Amongst their followers were two far more noted bandits, John Whitehead and "Black" Michael Howe. These men and their followers burned and ravaged and plundered for years.

In 1819 Whitehead and Howe, who had been a sailor, attempted to seize a schooner in the Derwent with the idea of escaping. Whitehead was shot down and the bushrangers were beaten off. Before he retreated Howe cut off the head of Whitehead and carried it away with him. He and Whitehead had both a price upon their heads, and before the fight they had sworn to each other that if one were killed the other would do this in order that no one

*Tasmania's  
Early  
Troubles.*

1817  
—

should collect the blood-money. Davey was little fitted to deal with the evil. As a last desperate resort he put the island under martial law, but this course was objected to by Macquarie, who had no sympathy or patience with Davey.

To Davey succeeded Colonel Sorell, who held office from 1817 to 1824. Under Sorell's rule free settlers came to the island in some numbers and material prosperity increased. As early as 1816 Tasmania exported wheat to Sydney, and within the next few years she sent it not only to Sydney but to Mauritius, the Cape of Good Hope, and Rio de Janeiro, and also began to export cattle and sheep. The bush-ranging evil, however, was intensified in Sorell's time. It is true that Howe, betrayed by one of his confederates, met his death, but to him succeeded the more famous Brady.

In 1821 Sorell established a penal settlement at Macquarie Harbour on the west coast, an inlet discovered by James Kelly in the course of an adventurous voyage round Tasmania in a whaleboat in 1815, and since frequented at intervals by timber-cutters in search of the valuable Huon pine. About the middle of one of the stormiest coasts in the world, beat on by almost continual westerly winds which raise mountainous seas, a narrow entrance, called by the early visitors Hell's Gates, leads into a spacious inlet surrounded by rugged ranges covered by forest. The nearest settled country was nearly 100 miles away, and between lay vast trackless forests yielding scarcely anything to support life. Here the most desperate criminals were employed in cutting timber and in building ships. Discipline was severe and brutal punishments common. Men were given 500 or even more lashes on the bare back for what would not now be regarded as very severe offences against prison rules. Others were chained on rocks and left there cold and hungry for days and nights. So terrible was the life that here, as at Norfolk Island and other penal settlements, men committed murder not from any special ill-will to the victim, but simply to get what they called a "slant" up to Hobart Town. The witness had a few weeks' relief from the terrors of life at the "harbour," and the murderer considered that he could be no worse off. Sometimes lots were

*The  
"Hell" of  
Macquarie  
Harbour.*

1823

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*Cannibalism in the Forests.*

drawn to see which should be the murderer and which the victim.

Naturally attempts at escape were numerous, in spite of the ring fence of forests, mountains, and stormy seas which hemmed in the settlement. In a report to Governor Arthur the Commandant states that the few rare visitors to Port Davey in the far south-west of the island had seen the skeletons of many runaways lying on the shores of that desolate inlet, where they had died of starvation and exposure or perhaps been slain by the few natives who gathered a scanty living along the coast.

Some of those who went overland met a worse fate. In 1823 Alexander Pearce and eight companions escaped and attempted to make their way through the forests to the settled country. Three turned back and gave themselves up, and the others struggled through the vast gloomy dripping forests until they came to a river which was too swollen for them to cross. One man, Travers, had fallen lame and could not keep up with the others. They killed him, ate of his flesh, and strengthened by this horrid food crossed the river and wandered on. Soon another poor wretch was killed and eaten, and so it went on until but two men, Pearce and Greenhill, were left alive. Greenhill had an axe, while Pearce was unarmed. For three days they kept awake, neither daring to sleep lest the other should slay him. Nature gave way first in Greenhill's case, and while he lay sleeping Pearce slew him with his own axe and ate him. So supplied with food, Pearce reached the edge of the settled regions, the first man to cross the country between Macquarie Harbour and the Derwent. That he had eaten his companions was unknown, and he was sent back to Macquarie Harbour as a runaway.

There he escaped again, with a companion named Cox. Pearce would not attempt the forests in which so horrible a tragedy had been enacted, and they went north along the coast until the Pieman River barred their way and hunger again aroused in Pearce the lust for strange flesh; he slew Cox and ate him. Then the horror of his deed overcame him and he gave himself up to the pilot Lucas, desiring, as he

said, "rather to die than to live." He had his wish, for he was hanged at Hobart. It is said that Lucas named the Pieman River after Pearce, who had once been a seller of pies in Hobart Town.

Pearce was not the only cannibal who ended a misspent life on the Hobart Town gallows in those iron days. A worse fiend than Pearce was Thomas Jeffries, nicknamed the "Monster," whose bloody deeds aroused so deep a loathing in the minds of the hardened bushrangers, led by Brady—men escaped from the hell of Macquarie Harbour and with a price upon their heads—that they threatened to take him out of the Launceston gaol and hang him, and well-nigh kept their word.

Matthew Brady or Bready was the greatest of all the Van Diemen's Land bushrangers. In 1824 he and nine others escaped from Macquarie Harbour in a boat. Coasting round the southern end of Tasmania they landed near Hobart, and for nearly two years they kept the country in a state of terror. Well-mounted, they moved rapidly from one end of the island to the other. Their numbers grew as assigned servants and runaways joined them, until nearly a hundred men were in arms. As had been the case ten years earlier, the life appealed to others than convicts. One of the most noted of Brady's lieutenants was Peter Geary, a soldier who had deserted. Brady's most daring exploit was the capture of the town of Sorell, then one of the chief places in the southern part of the island. He and his gang fell on the place as the soldiers were cleaning their muskets after a long day's hunt in the Bush for the bushrangers. They released the prisoners from the gaol and locked up the soldiers and police inside. Later, Brady threatened to seize Launceston the same way and was only beaten off with difficulty. In the days of Michael Howe it had been alleged that Robert Knopwood, the Colonial chaplain, benefited in some way from the disposal of the plunder. Rightly or wrongly, it was said that men of outward respectability had similar relations with Brady and his gang. In the long run, however, the bushrangers were hunted down. Colonel Arthur, who succeeded Sorell in 1824, ruled with a strong

*Brady the  
Bushranger.*

1826

hand, and parties of soldiers and settlers were organised to rid the country of the bandits. Brady himself surrendered to John Batman, a young settler already known for courage, coolness, and initiative; and he and those of his followers who were not shot down were amongst the fifty men who died by the hands of the hangman at Hobart Town during 1826.

*Mosquito  
and the  
Aborigines.*

The suppression of the bushrangers did not give the distracted colony peace. The relations between the settlers and the aborigines had gone steadily from bad to worse in the days of Davey and Sorell. From the testimony of explorers and of those of the early settlers who had treated the natives as human beings there is reason to believe that they were originally a harmless and friendly race. A hunter named Germain lived with them for years in the hungry days of Lieutenant-Governor Collins, and was well treated. But not only did the spread of settlement drive them from their hunting grounds and lead inevitably to friction, but they were exposed to the lust and brutality of white men who were fiends in human shape, of the bushrangers who had passed through the hell of the penal settlements, and of the assigned servants who were sometimes little better. The sealers of the straits, runaways, sailors, and convicts, and other lawless and violent men, stole the women from the coast tribes and carried them away into slavery on the islands. Outrages by the whites led to murders of white men by the blacks, and these formed the ground for new and more savage massacres by the whites. The Oyster Bay tribe, the first to come into collision with the settlers and one of the strongest native tribes, found an unexpected leader in a New South Wales aborigine called by the whites Mosquito, who had been transported to Tasmania for some offence. His work in tracking bushrangers exposed him to persecution at the hands of the convicts, most of whom in their hearts sympathised with the bushrangers; and he eventually took to the Bush himself and by some means acquired an extraordinary influence over the aborigines, in spite of the barriers of differing race, language, and customs. Under his leadership the Oyster Bay savages

waged fierce war on the scattered settlers on the east coast. Till within recent times there were old men still living who could tell bloodcurdling stories of the savage deeds of Mosquito and his henchman Black Jack. But they were made prisoners, largely through the agency of a "tame" aborigine, and died on the scaffold.

Arthur did his best to protect the aborigines, but his efforts were of little avail. It soon became evident that unless the natives were removed from the main island they would be exterminated. Arthur offered a reward of £5 for every adult aborigine captured uninjured and £2 for each child. Parties were organised, one of them led by John Batman, who employed several Sydney aborigines in the work, to capture natives for the sake of the reward. It is to be feared that some of them had little scruple about shooting any aborigines whom they could not take alive.

Next Arthur formed the "Black Line" of 1830, an attempt *The "Black Line."* to drive the most troublesome tribes, the Oyster Bay and Big River natives, into the south-east corner of the island and there round them up. Over 800 soldiers, with settlers and convicts to the number of nearly 4,000, formed a line stretching half-way across the island, and pushed steadily downward in the fond hope that they were driving the natives before them. But in the dense forests and rugged hills that lay behind the east coast it was impossible to keep the nimble savages from slipping through the line. When the net was drawn there was nothing in it. A woman and a boy that had been caught asleep under a log by a roving party were all that there was to show for an expenditure of £30,000.

But now one man came forward to do what all the armed forces of the Crown had failed in. George Augustus Robinson, a builder (usually, but not quite correctly, styled a bricklayer) at Hobart Town, knew something of the language of the aborigines and had been placed in charge of some of the captured aborigines on Bruny Island. He now offered to go out unarmed with a few companions and persuade the wild savages, whose bloody deeds had alarmed and horrified the whole island, to come in peaceably. Arthur was wise

1830

enough to give him a chance, and Robinson, with a few of his Bruny Island aborigines and sometimes two convict companions, traversed the whole island and brought in the remnants of the tribes. One of his first expeditions was across the southern end of the island to Port Davey, where the skeletons of so many escapees from Macquarie Harbour were bleaching, and along the whole length of the desolate and rugged western coast. The only food upon which himself and his companions lived was some oatmeal and such animals and other food as the country yielded. The Big River or Ouse tribe, whose capture had been one of the main objects of the Black Line of 1830, came in in 1831. This dreaded tribe now contained but sixteen men and a few women and children. They had sixteen muskets taken from the whites, but no ammunition. In spite of perils from the spears of the wild blacks, of hunger and of fatigue, Robinson continued his work till, in 1834, it was considered that all the aborigines had been gathered in. This remnant of the race numbered less than 300. One family still remained at liberty in the remote forest wilderness of the far north-west near Cape Grim. In 1842 these were brought in by a sealer, and the Tasmanian race had vanished from the island which they had inhabited so long.

*Extinction  
of the  
Tasmanian  
Race.*

The miserable aborigines were placed first on a small Island in Bass Strait, and eventually moved to Flinders Island, the largest of the group. There they died like flies, some said of sheer home-sickness. "The only drawback," the Superintendent of the settlement reported in 1837, "was the great mortality." In 1847 only forty-four were left, and they were removed to Oyster Cove on the mainland. There, as a result of liquor and association with the lower class of white people—sawyers and ex-convicts—the race of degradation and death ran quickly to an end. William Lanne, the last full-blooded Tasmanian, became a whaler, and died in Hobart Town hospital after a drinking bout in 1869. Trucannini, a woman and the last of the race, died in 1876. She had been born in 1803, the year when the first white settlers came to Tasmania, and within her lifetime her race had declined and disappeared. Her

last words were: "Don't let them cut me up, but bury me behind the mountains." She remembered, perhaps, how, "in the interests of science," William Lanne's body had been stolen from the coffin. Her last wish was not granted, and her skeleton stands to-day in the Hobart Museum.

Materially, Van Diemen's Land prospered even during the days when bushrangers and blacks overran the land. Colonel Arthur, who became Lieutenant-Governor in 1824, ruled with a strong hand. He never forgot that his main business was to manage convicts, and in his day the stream of convicts flowed ever more strongly into Van Diemen's Land. Macquarie Harbour proved too difficult of access and too expensive even for a penal settlement, and in 1833 it was given up. As early as 1825 Maria Island, a beautiful island on the east coast, with a perfect climate, had been made a penal station. It never attained, however, anything like the notoriety of the other prison-house which Arthur established, and to which he gave his name. In the extreme south-east of Tasmania are two peninsulas, one attached to the other, like a double eardrop. The outer and larger of the two is Tasman's Peninsula, a rugged forest-covered region with several good harbours, attached to Forestier's—the other peninsula—by a narrow neck of sand less than one hundred yards across. For thirty-eight years—from 1832 to 1870—when the establishment was finally broken up, this was one vast prison-house, with its headquarters at Carnarvon, on the land-locked Port Arthur. Across the narrow Eaglehawk Neck was a line of savage dogs on chains to supplement the watchfulness of the sentinels, while if any prisoners did escape, in spite of all precautions, they had to run the gauntlet of another military post at East Bay Neck, which joins Forestier's Peninsula to the mainland. A system of semaphores carried the news of an escape from hill to hill, beginning at what is still called Mount Communication, till it reached Hobart. On Tasman's Peninsula itself hordes of doubly convicted felons, amounting at times to several thousands, toiled under a severe and sometimes brutal discipline. They worked in the coal mines of Saltwater River, cut timber in the forest and hauled it to the

1829

waterside, or cleared and cultivated the land. For what would now be classed as very slight offences there waited the triangles and the lash. At Point Puer an experiment was later made aiming at the reformation of boy prisoners, and it had a certain measure of success.

*Circles of  
the Inferno.*

In Tasmania, as in New South Wales, ordinary convicts were not sent to a penal settlement. They were assigned out as servants to settlers. Those whose conduct was not good were employed in the road gangs which built the fine road from Hobart to Launceston and many other roads in the island. Below that was Port Arthur as a deeper pit still. Port Arthur, like Macquarie Harbour, was not escape-proof. Prisoners swam across the bay alongside the isthmus and then across that at East Bay Neck. Others made rude canoes of bark, in which they put to sea and voyaged up the coast. But on the whole it answered its purpose well.

Before leaving the subject, two escapes of Macquarie Harbour prisoners may be briefly described. In 1829 a band of prisoners seized the brig *Cyprus*, which was carrying them to Macquarie Harbour. As she lay becalmed in Recherche Bay some of the sailors and soldiers of the guard had gone fishing when the convicts rose, took the vessel, put the crew and guard on shore, and sailed for New Zealand. They renamed the vessel *The Friends of Boston*, and stated to whalers whom they met at Port Underwood that they had come direct from Manila. But a whaler who borrowed some fish-hooks from a convict noticed that they were wrapped in a piece of Hobart Town newspaper not a fortnight old. He told his captain; but the whalers, unlike their fellows at the Bay of Islands, shrank from meddling with this well-armed and desperate crew. The *Cyprus* eventually reached the China Seas, where the pirates scuttled her, and her crew went in boats to Canton, giving out that they had been shipwrecked. Their stories did not agree. The truth came out, and they were sent to London, tried, and sent to Van Diemen's Land to work out their sentences. At the breaking up of the Macquarie Harbour establishment a number of convicts seized the *Frederick* and got safely to Chile, where they settled at Valdivia.

One effect of the great influx of convicts into Van Diemen's Land from 1817 onwards was a depression in the demand for free labour. As early as 1827 we find the Tasmanian newspapers deplored the emigration of skilled mechanics to Rio de Janeiro and Valparaiso. This flow of emigrants from Tasmania has continued, with intermissions, almost to the present day.

*Convicts  
and Free  
Labourers.*

Amongst the tens of thousands of undistinguished criminals shot on the rubbish-tip of Tasmania in the half-century from 1803 to 1853 were some men of note in their day. One such was Jorgen Jorgenson, an amazing adventurer, who, in his time, played the most various parts. Born at Copenhagen, he went to sea and claimed to have been mate of the *Lady Nelson* in 1803, when she helped to found the first settlement in Van Diemen's Land. There was a Dane called Johnson on the *Lady Nelson*, but apart from the difference in name, which counts for little, his age as recorded on the ship's lists differs greatly from that given by Jorgenson in his autobiography. Later, Jorgenson commanded a Danish vessel, fought a sea-fight against a British man-of-war, and was made prisoner. Next he went to Iceland, where he overthrew the Danish Government, installed himself as ruler, and proposed to make the island part of the British Empire. A British cruiser ended this, and Jorgenson was a prisoner again. A passion for gambling kept him always poor and in shifts. He acted as a British agent on the Continent for awhile, returned to London, converted to his own use certain articles of furniture and was sent to Newgate, where he acted as dispenser and preached on occasion. Released on condition that he left the country, he did not carry out his promise and was transported. In Van Diemen's Land he rose to be convict constable at Oatlands, showed daring, skill, and determination in hunting down bushrangers and blacks, and was given a grant of land. He could not refrain from gambling, lost his land, and died at Hobart Town, poor and browbeaten by a shrewish wife.

Political prisoners came to Van Diemen's Land from the most opposite quarters of the globe. A crumbling stone in

*Political  
Prisoners.*

1846

the old cemetery at Darlington, Maria Island, marks the last resting place of a Maori chieftain who was deported with others after the war of 1846. A few yards away is the cottage inhabited for a time by Smith O'Brien, the nominal leader of the futile Irish "rebellion" of 1848. With O'Brien came John Mitchel, Thomas Meagher, Kevin O'Donohoe, and others. These political prisoners were well treated, and several of them later found means to escape to the United States. A grandson of John Mitchel was Mayor of New York in 1916.

"Bay"  
Whaling.

How the sealers of Bass Strait were the first white men to establish themselves within the limits of what is now the State of Tasmania, preceding the official settlement by several years, has already been mentioned. For many years the prosperity of the colony was largely bound up with whaling and sealing. Hobart and Launceston both became the homes and nursery of hardy seafarers. Hobart was but three years old when "bay whaling" began, and during the next forty years nearly every bay and nook on the southern coast of Tasmania was at one time or other occupied by bay whalers. During the season, which lasted from May till October or thereabouts, two or four whaleboats were kept at each station in readiness to put to sea in pursuit whenever the lookout on some adjacent hill signalled: "There she blows." These boats were of a type now extinct. They were thirty feet long, built on fine lines, and would sail well, though built primarily as rowing boats. Such a boat was manned by five oarsmen, each using a fourteen-foot oar, and steadied by means of an especially long steering oar. With this oar a good steersman could bring a boat round almost in its own length. It is related of a noted boat-steerer, Captain Hopwood, that in whaleboat races he would bring the boat round a buoy without calling on the oarsmen to slacken speed in any way. Besides the steersman each boat carried a harpooner, whose duty it was to plunge the harpoon, a barbed spear attached to a long rope, into the whale. The rope was then allowed to run out. The whale dragged the boat until the whalers were able to come up to it again, when the harpooner despatched it with

a lance. It was a wildly picturesque though unlovely calling, periods of inaction alternating with seasons of fierce and strenuous endeavour and of no small danger. Once killed, the whale was towed to the shore, where the blubber was stripped off and melted in huge cauldrons called "trypots." For months after the season or the cruise had ended whalers could still be distinguished by the smell of whale-oil about them.

At first bay whaling alone was carried on by Tasmanians. Deep-sea whalers called at Hobart, but they belonged either to Sydney or to overseas. Later Hobart shipowners took a leading part in the whaling trade. Many fine ocean-going vessels were built in Tasmania, and Hobart vessels sailed far afield. They took also an important part in the sealing on the coast of New Zealand and on the southern islands, and in the trade with the Maoris for flax, timber, pigs, and "Maori heads" and other products, though for this Sydney was always the great centre.

Launceston, on the other hand, was in closer relation with the southern coasts of Australia. It drew to itself the trade of the Bass Strait Islands, where the sealers and the aboriginal women whom they bought or stole on both sides of the straits established the remarkable half-caste population which still exists there. Jonathan Griffiths, a native of Parramatta, like Batman and Hume, made Launceston a shipbuilding centre; and he and others also sailed in search of sealskins, oil, and kangaroo skins along the whole southern coast of Australia from Westernport to Cape Leeuwin. Here, too, little groups of sealers established themselves very early in the century on Kangaroo Island and on other islands along the southern coasts. And about 1830 Launceston enterprise established at Portland Bay, Port Fairy, Encounter Bay, and Port Lincoln Bay, whaling stations which were the forerunners of permanent occupation of Victoria and of South Australia. From Launceston, too, came the first pastoral settlers in Victoria and their flocks.

*Launceston's Trade  
with the  
Australian  
Coast.*

## CHAPTER XI

### THE WINNING OF THE WEST

1772

*The Swan  
River  
Settlement.*

BUT before the settlement of Victoria began a movement had set in towards that western half of Australia which the Dutch had explored. The French had taken formal possession of it in 1772, but Great Britain had not laid claim to it until 1826. How Darling sent Lockyer to found a tiny settlement at King George's Sound in 1827 has already been mentioned. At this time Captain Stirling explored the Swan River, discovered in 1697 by Vlaming, and reported that the country there was "not inferior in any natural essential condition to the Plain of Lombardy," an optimistic view that experience has failed to justify. Stirling urged that the Swan River should be occupied, and Darling supported this view. The British authorities decided against the idea on the score of expense. The distance from Sydney was so great that it meant setting up a new Government, and this was not necessary.

But private enterprise stepped in. There was increasing interest in the colonies felt in Great Britain, and it soon became the fashion to take part, personally or by proxy, in schemes of emigration. The decade 1830-1840 virtually saw the foundations of the States of Western Australia, South Australia, Victoria, and New Zealand. In every case except Victoria the settlement was founded direct from Great Britain. The reports of Stirling on the Swan River led Thomas Peel, a wealthy cousin of Sir Robert Peel, and others to propose to the British Government that they should take 10,000 emigrants to Western Australia, receiving in return 4,000,000 acres of land. Eventually the scheme was modified. Settlers were to receive an acre for each £s. 6d. of capital invested, on condition that they spent £s. 6d. an acre in improvements. Peel was granted 250,000 acres

of land, receiving 200 acres for each person over ten years of age whom he brought to the colony. Stirling, who was appointed Governor, was to receive 100,000 acres. This was the first free settlement in Australia. No convicts were landed in Western Australia until 1850.

1830

Stirling arrived on June 1, 1829, and before the end of 1830 over one thousand claimants for land had appeared on the scene. With nearly one million square miles to fall back upon the authorities were lavish with land orders. Land was almost as much a currency, though far from such a liquid currency, as rum had been in the early days of New South Wales. Surveyors and Government contractors were paid in land, reckoned at the rate of 1s. 6d. an acre. One result of this lavishness was that the population was hopelessly dispersed. Men obtained large areas which they could not work, and their very remoteness and isolation in a country without roads or bridges or any of the conveniences of civilisation prevented them from doing any good with the land. There was nothing to answer to the great natural pastures which were already proving the wealth of New South Wales. Pastorally most of Western Australia was by nature a poor country. Though it has been greatly improved, the amount of stock carried is ridiculously small in comparison with its area, even when the vast arid interior is left out of account. And much of that stock is now found in the northern regions which were not occupied for decades to come. The country abounded, too, to an unusual extent, in poisonous plants, which the stock died from eating. Many of the settlers fled from the country, a large proportion going on to Tasmania and New South Wales. Of the 4,000 people at the Swan River at the end of 1830, only 1,500 were still there in 1832. Peel, who had brought £50,000 and 300 servants into the colony, was left without a servant, while his property was wasted and lost; and when that had happened his servants who had gone away returned and demanded the employment and food which he could no longer give them. Peel eventually gave up the struggle.

But still the colony survived. Bay whaling on the coast soon brought in a little money, agriculture of a primitive

*Slow Progress.*

1838

kind succeeded on some of the fertile patches of soil, and the stock increased in numbers. Later the forests of magnificent timber in the south-west of the colony became one of its most important assets, while the open forests of the drier parts of the colony yielded the odoriferous sandal-wood which commanded, as it still does, a ready market in China and the East. But it was a slow process; not till 1850 did the colony number 5,000 people. Even to-day the western half of Australia, including part of South Australia and of the Northern Territory, does not contain more than one-fifteenth of the total population.

*Desire for Isolation.* Stirling stuck to his task till 1838. He encouraged the exploration and opening up of the country. Thrown back on its own resources, the settlement, which had taken over the isolated post at King George's Sound, managed to survive. From the main stream of Australian life, however, it stood completely aside. It was cut off both by natural conditions and by its own desire. Vast areas of unknown wilderness stretched between Western Australia and the eastern settlements, while to reach them by sea meant a long and often rough voyage. There was another barrier. When South Australia was settled the residents sought to enlist the sympathies of Western Australia in the opening up of a road between the two colonies. On June 3, 1840, the chairman of the Agricultural Society of Western Australia put before his members a plan, set forward by the inhabitants of South Australia, to open a road to this colony. The idea met with fierce opposition and was rejected on the grounds of "impracticability and the undesirability of making a road to enable bushrangers from the eastern settlements to make raids on this colony."

*Eyre's Great Journey.* But in spite of this rebuff the South Australians persisted in exploring the country between themselves and their western neighbours, and showed incidentally that bushrangers were little likely to invade the western regions by the overland route even if there had been much in the west worth stealing. In 1841 Edward John Eyre, setting out from Fowler's Bay on February 25, worked his way round the coast of the Great Australian Bight to Albany on

King George's Sound, which he reached on July 7, 1841. Accompanied only by his overseer, Baxter, and three aborigines, he set out on a journey of over 1,000 miles through a barren, dry, and desolate region. At one point he crossed a stage of 150 miles without water. About half-way through two of the aborigines shot Baxter and deserted, carrying off some of the stores. With one King George's Sound native as his sole companion, Eyre struggled on. He killed his horses and dried their flesh for food, and found a little water by collecting, in the early morning, the dew from the bushes in a sponge. Even so he would probably have failed, but on the coast near Lucky Bay he found a French whaler, the *Mississippi*, one of the great fleet of foreign whaling ships, mainly French and American, which then worked on the southern and western coasts of Australia. The Frenchmen even had vegetable gardens and a few sheep and goats grazing on islands off this desolate coast. With assistance from Rossiter, the whaling captain, Eyre pushed on to Albany. This exploit had but intensified the isolation of Western Australia by showing how difficult, almost impossible, it was to traverse the intervening wilderness, and until the Transcontinental Railway was opened in 1917 the sea was, for all practical purposes, the only means of reaching Western Australia from the east.

With this isolation the settlers in Western Australia were *A Free Colony and how it Ended.* not at all displeased. At the time of its foundation the colony was the one free colony in Australia, its only point of contact with the convict system being the few convicts at the fort in King George's Sound, who were soon afterwards withdrawn. South Australia was also founded as a free colony, and convicts were never landed within its borders. It soon abounded, however, with men free by servitude and runaways from New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. In Western Australia there was a proposal in 1845 that ex-convicts should be debarred from landing. But curiously enough, as if to emphasise still more the peculiar position of Western Australia, the colony asked for convicts just when the eastern colonies were getting rid of transportation. By 1850 Western Australia was ready

1850

— to catch at any straw, and labourers and others tended to drift away to the eastern colonies, and the population was still, after twenty years of settlement, only 5,000. About this time the British authorities had raised the price of land throughout Australia, whatever its quality, to £1 an acre. Settlers could no longer be attracted to Western Australia by the prospect of acquiring large areas at exceptionally low rates. And, by restricting land sales, this policy reduced the fund which had been used to pay the passages of immigrant labourers. Under these conditions the earlier policy was abandoned, and in 1849 a public meeting, held at Perth, decided in favour of asking the British Government to "erect this colony into a regular penal settlement." This was done, and the first convicts arrived in June, 1850. During the next seventeen years about 10,000 prisoners and the same number of free immigrants were landed in Western Australia.

After 1853, when transportation to Van Diemen's Land ended, Western Australia was the one part of Australasia to which convicts were sent. To this day Perth and Fremantle retain more buildings bearing evidences of the convict days than any other towns in Australia. In 1867 the system was finally abandoned, but for many years after that Western Australia had little to do with the eastern colonies.

## CHAPTER XII

### FOUNDATION AND GROWTH OF VICTORIA

FOUNDED within a couple of years of each other, Victoria and South Australia differed profoundly in origin. Victoria came into existence in an irregular and haphazard way by "Swarming Out" of Settlers. — New South Wales, seeking new pastures for their flocks and herds; and for fifteen years it was merely an outlying part of New South Wales. South Australia was built upon a theory, and was one of the fruits of that great interest in the problems of emigration and colonies which marked public opinion in England at this time.

That the fine pastoral country lying on the western side of Port Phillip and extending far to the westward remained unoccupied so long was largely due to the fact that the authorities at Sydney discouraged the dispersion of settlers. It meant trouble and expense, and not without reason the Governors frowned on proposals for new settlements. Partly as a result of Hume and Hovell's mistake in 1824, the short-lived settlement of 1826 was placed on the less attractive shores of Westernport.

When Batman and Gellibrand asked leave to take stock sealers, whalers, and the Hentys. to Westernport from Tasmania, they were politely told that their request could not be granted. Even in 1826 the Port Dalrymple sealers had land under cultivation on Phillip Island, Westernport, and in 1832 William Dutton and Jonathan Griffiths established a bay whaling station at Portland Bay, far to the west of Port Phillip; while very shortly after Griffiths and others began whaling at Port Fairy, near Portland. In 1834 Portland Bay attracted the attention of settlers with capital. Thomas Henty, a Sussex banker and farmer with a family of seven sons, was one of

1834

the first settlers at the Swan River, where he had an order for 84,000 acres of land. He soon decided that Western Australia was not attractive enough, and went on to Van Diemen's Land, settling at Launceston. There, however, the system of land grants had just been abolished, and the Hentys, therefore, looked further afield. There were many men in Launceston who knew something of the unsettled region of the southern coast of Australia. Edward Henty cruised along that coast and visited Portland, where Dutton, the head man of the whaling station, received him hospitably, according to Dutton's own statement. The land immediately round Portland is not remarkably rich, but there was pasture for flocks, and there was also money to be made by whaling. Edward Henty chartered the schooner *Thisle* at Launceston, and in November, 1834, he sailed to Portland in her. There he and three of his brothers settled and engaged in cultivation and in stock-raising, in addition to whaling. When Mitchell came through to the sea from the Murray, in 1836, he found the Hentys already well established, and it was not long after this that they occupied with sheep some of the country inland, which offered much better pasture than that around Portland Bay.

*John Batman and Port Phillip.* But by 1836 Portland was already neither the only nor the chief settlement in Victoria. Pastoralists from Van Diemen's Land, with their flocks and herds, were already spreading far and wide over the grass-lands around the great bay of Port Phillip. By this time most of the good pastoral country within the narrow limits of Van Diemen's Land had been occupied. The greater part of the island was covered with heavy timber and brushwood, and to clear this land and make it fit for either agricultural or pasture meant a heavy expenditure, especially in those days, when the way to clear land cheaply had not been discovered. The stock owners of the island, therefore, were anxious to find an outlet for their stock on the mainland. Fifteen of the leading residents, including H. Arthur, a nephew of Governor Arthur, J. T. Gellibrand, formerly Attorney-General, Captain Swanston, and John Batman, formed a "Port Phillip Association." In May, 1835, Batman set sail

from Launceston in a 30-ton schooner, the *Rebecca*, accompanied by three white men and seven New South Wales aborigines, to spy out the land. Batman's account of his proceedings is surprising and confusing, and there are many difficulties in accepting the narrative as it stands and reconciling it with other evidence; one ingenious inquirer has therefore asserted that Batman never went to Port Phillip at all at this particular time, but wrote from imagination and from the description of those who had been at Port Phillip. Whalers and sealers had visited the place from time to time since its abandonment by Collins, and no doubt there were men in Launceston who knew a fair amount about it.

But according to Batman's journal and report he went to "Treaty" with the Aborigines: "Grant, Feoff, and Confirm." Port Phillip, explored some of the country round the bay, and fell in with a number of aborigines, to whom he presented tomahawks, knives, scissors, mirrors, and blankets. If the interpretation given by Batman's Port Jackson aborigines of what Port Phillip natives said is correct, they had already been in contact with white men, possible sealers. They feared that Batman would take them by force and ill-use them—an experience which some of their tribe had already had. That the Port Jackson natives could really understand or communicate with the others is very doubtful. So well did Batman get on with the natives that he induced eight chiefs of the Dutigalla tribe to make strange wavy marks (or let Batman make some for them) on documents prepared, no doubt, by the lawyer Gellibrand in Tasmania. By these they agreed to "grant, feoff and confirm" to Batman and his assigns over 600,000 acres, or nearly 1,000 square miles of land stretching along the western side of Port Phillip, and including much of the present site of Melbourne. The names of these chiefs showed a poverty of invention in that three brothers were named Jaga-Jaga. With them were Cooloolook, Bungarie, Yanyon, Moowhip, and Monmartucalar.

The consideration for this purchase was 20 pairs of blankets, 30 knives, 12 tomahawks, 10 looking-glasses, 12 pairs of scissors, 50 handkerchiefs, 12 red shirts, 4 flannel

1835

jackets, 4 suits of clothes, and 50 pounds of flour, and a yearly payment in kind. Compared with some of the contemporary land-grabbers and speculators in New Zealand, Batman was moderate in the extreme, and paid well for his land. In an official report to Governor Arthur, Batman said that the chiefs went with him to the boundaries of the land and marked with their own private mark the trees at the corners. They each delivered to him a piece of soil for the purpose of putting him into possession. He claimed that the aborigines fully understood what they were doing, but either he deceived himself or was willing to deceive others. The aborigines knew nothing of individual property and land or of the alienation of land, even if Batman's Sydney natives had been able to interpret to them the pretentious legal phraseology of his document.

Of the land itself Batman had no doubts. It was, he said, so decidedly "superior to any which he had ever seen." On the banks of the Yarra he marked on his chart an area on the site of Melbourne as reserved for a township. Melbourne is, in fact, the only one of the six State capitals built on the site originally selected for it.

*Proposed  
Annexation  
by  
Tasmania.*

Leaving his Sydney natives and white assistants behind, Batman hastened back to Tasmania to report to the other members of his Association, and to secure the support of Governor Arthur. Arthur was well disposed towards the adventurers, but informed Batman that Port Phillip was clearly outside his jurisdiction, and that the treaty with the natives appeared to be a departure from the principle on which parliamentary sanction had been given to the settlement of South Australia.

Arthur himself was willing and even eager to extend the territory over which he ruled. In forwarding Batman's report to England he suggested that the settlement might be placed temporarily under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of Van Diemen's Land. He pointed out that other individuals might follow, and as a matter of fact they did cross the Strait within a few days of Batman's return. Amongst the citizens of Launceston in those stirring days was John Pascoe Fawkner, who as a lad of eleven had been

1835  
—

at Port Phillip with Collins. Fawkner's father had been a convict who fell into serious trouble in Tasmania, and he himself had been under the ban of the law in his day. In Launceston he kept a public-house, and also pleaded in the law-courts, regular lawyers being then almost unknown in those parts. On July 27, 1835, several associates of Fawkner left Launceston in the *Enterprise*, and eventually found their way up the Yarra to the site of Melbourne. They were warned off by J. H. Wedge, acting in the interests of Batman's Association, but held their ground, and began to clear and cultivate the land. Fawkner himself joined them in October. He was an active, enterprising man, though bitter and not over-scrupulous. He began the first newspaper, and in many other ways promoted the interests of the settlement. Other individuals, the first of whom was John Aitken, brought over sheep and cattle from Tasmania, and squatted on the lands round Port Phillip.

Sir Richard Bourke, the Governor of New South Wales, soon heard of the unauthorised movement across Bass Strait, and on August 25, 1835, he issued a proclamation declaring Batman's famous treaty void and stating that any persons found in occupation without licence would be considered to be trespassers. This, of course, was a formal measure. Bourke had no intention of expelling the invaders from Port Phillip. It is true that the authorities in England at this time were opposed to the extension of settlement into new regions, but Bourke in his despatches wrote: "I cannot avoid perceiving the peculiarities which in this colony render it impolitic and even impossible to restrain dispersion within limits that would be expedient elsewhere." He added that, apart from the reasons for allowing dispersion, it was not to be disguised that the Government was unable to prevent it. He urged that it was better to impose reasonable conditions on Batman and his associates than to insist on their abandoning their undertaking.

Bourke sent a magistrate to the little settlement at "Bearbrass," as it was for a while called (apparently by an adaptation of some native name). Later Captain Lonsdale

*Governor  
Bourke takes  
a Hand.*

1835

was sent to take charge, and Port Phillip was formally thrown open for settlement. Batman and his associates fought hard for their treaty, and one member of the Association, George Mercer, worked for them in Great Britain. It was in vain, however; finally the New South Wales Government, as an act of grace, allowed an agent of the Association to buy 7,000 acres at £1 an acre and remitted the purchase money. For the rest, the members of the Association stood on the same footing as anyone else. John Batman died four years after the founding of Melbourne, having profited comparatively little by his enterprise. His widow was not suffered to keep even the twenty acres which he had occupied in Melbourne, but was, as a favour, allowed to remove the building which stood upon it.

*Buckley, the  
"Wild White  
Man."*

Soon after the arrival of the first settlers at Port Phillip they found amongst the natives a white man who had almost forgotten the English language and had become, in all but colour, very much on the level of his savage associates. This was William Buckley, a convict who had run away from Collins' camp at Sorrento in 1803. It was hoped that he would prove a useful interpreter and intermediary in communications with the aborigines, but he lacked sufficient intelligence to be of much value. He was sent to Hobart Town, where he lived for many years on a small pension. There amongst the stone houses and pleasant gardens of the little town beside the river he lingered out his life, an alien and a stranger amongst the men of his own tongue and his own race. He had but little to say all his days, but behind the heavy vacant face which men saw in the streets of Hobart who shall say what visions passed of the great open plains beside Port Phillip where he had for thirty years lived in the age of stone?

*Melbourne  
Christened.*

Governor Bourke visited Port Phillip in 1837, when he christened Melbourne after the then Prime Minister of Great Britain. Unlike Sydney, Melbourne was from the beginning laid out on a regular plan with broad straight streets. Bourke gave orders for land sales to be held, and on June 1, 1837, the first sale took place. Allotments then bought for £40 were sold thirty years later for £40,000.

Within a few months of Batman's landing hundreds of settlers with thousands of sheep and some cattle had reached Port Phillip from Van Diemen's Land. In 1836 a new stream of emigration set in overland. Stockowners from New South Wales followed in the track of Hume and Hovell and brought their cattle and sheep across the Murray. Within five years there was a continuous chain of stations from the Murray to Melbourne, and from Melbourne to Portland, and beyond across the South Australian border. Melbourne had experienced its first "boom." By 1840, too, the first pioneers had entered the remote eastern province of Victoria, shut in between the mountains and the sea, which was named Gippsland. They came by rugged trails from the Monaro Plateau of New South Wales. Working across the Upper Murray, Macfarlane and McMillan had reached Omeo by 1839; while even earlier stock had been sent into the country along the coast, but was withdrawn owing to the hostility of the natives. McMillan established a cattle station on the Tambo River in 1839, and early next year, guided by two Omeo aborigines, he penetrated through the low country to the lakes near the coast. In the same year James Macarthur, a grandson of John Macarthur, and Count Strzelecki, a Polish scientist, pushed right through the Corner Inlet, which became for a while the main outlet of Gippsland. They spent twenty-two days in struggling through a dense forest, living on native bears or koalas found for them by a New South Wales aborigine, Charlie Tarra, who was with the party.

Within a dozen years of the first settlement the greater part of Victoria had been occupied by squatters.

1836

*The Over-  
landers.*

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE COLONY OF A THEORY

1830

New  
Colonisation  
Movement  
and E. G.  
Wakefield.

—

THE settlement of South Australia followed hard upon that of Victoria, but was based on very different principles. It was not an irregular unauthorised swarming out of settlers in search of new pastures, but an attempt to found a colony on scientific principles. At this time there was in England a keen interest in colonisation and also a strongly speculative spirit abroad, though the official attitude was one of discouragement. A man of genius appeared to give shape and form to the vague aspirations that were stirring and to provide a rallying point for those who were dissatisfied with the lack of system and of principle in the colonisation of the day.

This was Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who played a great part in promoting the settlement of South Australia and of New Zealand and had a marked influence on the land policy followed in other Australian colonies. Wakefield himself had been involved in trouble with the law over the abduction of an heiress, and he kept for the most part in the background, pulling the strings to which his puppets danced. In 1830, the year in which the news of Sturt's successful boat voyage down the Murray reached England, he formed a Colonisation Society with the aim of substituting "systematic colonisation" for mere emigration and on a scale which would produce important effects on the mother-country. In 1829 Wakefield had published a "letter from Sydney" in which he drew a gloomy picture of the state of society in New South Wales. He laid stress on the supposedly demoralising effects of a convict population, and complained that the colony was kept from progressing by the undue dispersion of population. So cleverly was the letter written and so great was the wealth of details that many readers

assumed that the letter had actually been written in Sydney, though Wakefield as a matter of fact had never visited Australia.

He professed to be much shocked by the rebellious spirit of the emancipist party and its supporters in New South Wales. These men, he wrote, were rebels at heart and lacked the power, not the will, to draw the sword. The difficulties of the Swan River Settlement gave point to Wakefield's arguments against making land too cheap. Wakefield, in a little book about South Australia, published in 1834, compares planting a colony to transplanting a full-grown tree. The tree must be moved with every root and rootlet, every branch and twig, and every part must be placed in the same relative position as before it was moved, so that each part should continue to perform its proper office. In the case of emigration there must be a removal not of people merely, but of society—that is, of all the different classes of people who by means of the division of labour and the use of capital make up a civilised society. And when they are moved to a new country, precautions must be taken to prevent them from degenerating into an unsocial state. In Western Australia the various elements of society—the capitalist and the labourer, the man of leisure and the man of toil—had been transplanted to a new country, but the cheapness of land and the consequent dispersion of population and lack of labour had caused society to degenerate.

Wakefield's one great remedy for all the ills that beset colonies—the "Wakefield principle" as it was called—was *of the Sufficient Price.*" The selling of land at a "sufficient price." If it was sold too cheaply, the labourers who went to the colony would refuse to work for wages, but would get land of their own. In Wakefield's view this was a calamity. He was not one of those theorists, common later in Australia, who urged that in a new land it was wrong and wicked to set up the old-world system of society. On the contrary, he desired above all things to see the colonies a reproduction of Great Britain, with capitalists holding the land and employing labourers to till it. He did not believe in low wages, but expressly states that he hoped that South Australia would be a

1834

country of high wages. But as land was to be dear, the labourers would have to work for a considerable time before they could buy even a small farm. When they succeeded in becoming landowners themselves, their place would be taken by new drafts of labourers from Great Britain, who would pass through the same process, and so on. The money derived from the sale of the land could be used in the whole or in part in bringing out labourers. Some of Wakefield's followers exalted this use of the proceeds of land sales as an emigration fund, and considered it the essence of the sacred "principle"; but Wakefield himself considered it as a desirable but adventitious application of the proceeds of the "sufficient price" which, as he once asserted, he would maintain even if the money realised by it were thrown into the sea.

*Fore-runners of Settlement.* Sturt's favourable report regarding the country between the Lower Murray and St. Vincent's Gulf gave Wakefield a site for his ideal colony. At this time the whole southern coast-line of Australia was unoccupied except for the visits of whalers and sealers. Kangaroo Island and some other islands off the coast of South Australia were inhabited by little parties of sealers, runaway convicts from Tasmania, and others, many of whom had obtained aboriginal wives either from Tasmania or from the Australian mainland. John Hart, a Launceston sea-captain who visited the coast in 1833, describes the Kangaroo Island sealers as having comfortable houses or huts of stone, with patches of grain, gardens, and poultry. Once or twice a year they assembled at Nepean Bay, when a vessel visited the island and bartered their seal-skins and kangaroo-skins for clothes and for provisions, rum, and tobacco, and sovereigns to make into ear-rings. Another account describes the head-man of the island as a sealer, with the curious name of Abyssinia, who had dwelt there for many years. Soon after 1830, a bay whaling station was founded by Launceston men at Encounter Bay not far from the mouth of the Murray.

*Wake-field's First Reverse.* Such were the faint rudiments of settlement in the region into which Wakefield sought to transplant the tree of society. He proposed at first to proceed by means of a chartered

company, and the South Australian Land Company was formed in 1831. The Colonial Office, however, was not sympathetic, and was little disposed to hand over to the Company the control of a vast unexplored territory. Many of the disappointed land-seekers, according to Wakefield, went to the United States, "where, though they prospered, they resembled Irish Americans in their feeling towards England." Next, Wakefield's followers formed the "South Australian Association" and renewed the struggle. Members of Parliament abounded amongst them. George Grote, banker, and author of a very long and very dull history of Greece, was treasurer of the Association.

In August, 1834, a Bill was passed providing for the establishment of the Colony of South Australia. Its acceptance by the House of Lords was mainly due to the influence of the Duke of Wellington. The desire of the Association for a free hand was not granted; the new colony was to be controlled in the usual way by a Governor appointed by the Crown. A Board of Commissioners was to manage the sale of land and apply the proceeds to an immigration fund; the price was fixed at not less than 12s. an acre, or very far below what Wakefield considered a "sufficient price." There was a special provision by which the transportation of convicts to the colony was forbidden. Now that the Association had its Bill, it seemed likely to be shipwrecked for lack of funds. The Bill provided that the powers of the Commissioners should not become effective until land of the value of £35,000 had been disposed of and a loan of £20,000 raised. George Fife Angas, a wealthy merchant, the "Father of South Australia," came to the rescue. He formed the "South Australian Company" to buy land and to provide the required capital. This company had a capital of £200,000, increased in 1835 to £300,000. Finding a Governor was not easy. Sir Charles Napier was offered the position, but insisted that if he took it he must have some troops and power to draw on the British Treasury in case of necessity. The British Government would accept no financial responsibility, nor did it propose to send any troops. Napier therefore withdrew, and Captain Hindmarsh, who

1836

had fought under Nelson at the Nile, took the position. Hindmarsh was a good naval officer but a poor Governor.

*Working in the Dark.* More important in its effect was the appointment of Colonel William Light as Surveyor-General. Light, the son of a British Empire builder in the East and of a Malay lady of high rank, had a touch of genius, and to him was due the selection of the site of Adelaide, the capital of South Australia. Early in 1836 two shiploads of emigrants reached Kangaroo Island, and Light arrived there in August. How little the projectors of the colony knew about the scene of operations is shown by a little book published by them in 1834. They had Flinders' charts and descriptions of the coast and of Kangaroo Island, the works of the French explorers Péron and Freycinet, the account of Sturt's boat voyage down the Murray, and statements by several whalers and sealers, including Peter Dillon, the sea-captain who had in 1826 discovered the relics of Lapérouse at Vanikoro. Dillon had visited Port Lincoln and spent three months on the coast in 1815. How misleading some of this information may be illustrated by the reports of Captain Sutherland, to which much importance was attached. Sutherland said that he had covered Kangaroo Island from south to north, and when the first emigrant vessels arrived some young men landed to follow his alleged track; they were lost in the Bush, and several were never seen again. Another informant, Captain Gould, stated that on Yorke Peninsula he came on a river fifty yards wide, eight feet deep, running clear, but with a strong current. No one has since been able to find such a river in that particular spot.

*Choice of a Capital.*

On the strength of the description of Flinders and of other voyagers there seems to have been an idea that Kangaroo Island would be the headquarters of the new settlement; next to that, Port Lincoln on Eyre Peninsula appears to have taken pride of place. Kangaroo Island has for the most part a poor, hungry soil and even to-day has few inhabitants. Light did not like it, nor did he approve of the arid country round Port Lincoln. He examined St. Vincent's Gulf and chose the site on the plain under Mount Lofty, on the eastern shore of the gulf, on which the city of Adelaide

was to be built. Hindmarsh, looking at the site with a sailor's eye, objected to it because there was no good natural harbour, and even the creek-mouth at the present Port Adelaide was seven miles away. Hindmarsh preferred Encounter Bay, where the whalers had established a station. Light held firm to his choice and was supported by a majority of the votes cast at a public meeting of settlers. It does not appear that he would have given way had the majority been against him. In the long run Light's choice was justified. Round Adelaide was some of the best land in South Australia, and it proved possible to make a very fair harbour at Port Adelaide, while there has been little development in the poor country round Encounter Bay.

A curious fate overtook Judge Jeffcott, one of the supporters of the Encounter Bay site. In December, 1837, he embarked there on a vessel bound for Van Diemen's Land. She was wrecked, and later Jeffcott and others set out in a whaleboat to explore Lake Alexandrina. The boat was overturned in the breakers at the Murray mouth and Jeffcott was drowned.

Wakefield complained bitterly that his principle had not been put into practice in South Australia, and he could point triumphantly to the fact that the colony had a rough time in its early years. In material progress and prosperity it compared badly with its neighbour, the Port Phillip district. Land was sold at 12s. an acre, raised later to £1, but instead of cultivating their lands and building up Wakefield's ideal society, the first purchasers held their blocks for a rise. Soon there was an orgy of speculation, especially in Adelaide town lots. At first there was but little stock in the new colony; the whaling enterprises of the South Australian Company were not very successful and trade was stagnant. When Colonel Gawler arrived in October, 1838, to succeed Hindmarsh as Governor, he found, he stated, "capital flowing out to Sydney and Van Diemen's Land for the necessaries of life; scarcely any settlers in the country, no tillage, very little sheep or cattle pasturing; the two landing-places of the most indifferent description; the population shut up in Adelaide, existing

*Speculation  
and Land  
Boom.*

1837

principally upon the unhealthy and uncertain profits of land-jobbing."

*Eighteen-pence in the Treasury.*

Gawler could get no statement of accounts from the Treasurer. All that he could find was that the whole sum allowed for the year's expenditure, £12,000, had been spent in the first quarter. At an earlier date, by the way, the sentry placed over the colony's treasure-house had been found intoxicated at his post; but the natural alarm felt was tempered by the fact that the Treasury contained but 1s. 6d. Gawler's remedies only intensified the evils of which he complained. He drew bills on England and provided employment on public buildings, roads or bridges, and harbour works. This drew away from private employment even the labour that had so far been so employed. Altogether Gawler spent £291,000 more than the revenue received before he was superseded in 1841.

*Ex-convicts from Van Diemen's Land.*

When the colony was founded stress had been laid on the fact that no convicts would be allowed to pollute the sacred soil of South Australia by their presence. Yet very soon employers were glad to hire ex-convicts, who came from Van Diemen's Land and proved much more useful and dependable than the immigrant labourer from England. Robert Gouger, the secretary to the colony, admitted that he employed but one man who had come direct from England. "All my men," he wrote, "were from Van Diemen's Land, where they had been for some years, and I uniformly found them far better and more industrious labourers than any others that I could obtain. I am grieved to be obliged to mention this fact." For the rough work of a new settlement the Van Diemonians were far better suited than the men straight from England. In 1838 began another movement which greatly benefited South Australia. "Overlanders," following the course of the Murray, brought cattle from New South Wales to supply food to the inhabitants of Adelaide and to stock the pastures of the new province.

*George Grey to the Rescue.*

When the Commissioners in London received the bills which Gawler had so liberally drawn on them they were at their wits' end. They laid their case before the Govern-

ment, which authorised them to raise a loan of £120,000. Gawler was recalled, pending an inquiry, and Captain George Grey, a young naval officer of twenty-eight who had already distinguished himself by explorations in Western Australia, was sent out as Governor. Grey took hold with firmness and decision. He cut down expenditure and at the same time persuaded the British authorities to pay off the colony's obligations, amounting altogether to £405,000, so that it might start afresh. As a result of the ending of the land and public works boom in Adelaide men turned their attention more and more to the real resources of the colony. Agriculture progressed rapidly, and within a few years South Australia was able to export wheat of the finest quality to England. Wool-growing, too, proved very successful. In one respect South Australia was honourably distinguished from her sister colonies in Australia—the treatment of the aborigines was far better than in any other colony. Of Governor Grey the British Prime Minister remarked, "He has extricated the colony and gained the goodwill of both settlers and aborigines."

When Grey left South Australia in 1845 to become Governor of New Zealand, the colony was well launched on *Immigration of Germans.* a course of prosperity. Amongst the early settlers in South Australia were many Germans whom S. F. Angas encouraged to emigrate to the colony. From the point of view of promoting material progress they were valuable settlers, hard-working and thrifty. Many of their descendants later took an active part in the public life of the colony. Very many of them became good Australians, but some of the districts were peopled by solid blocks of Germans, with German churches, German schools, and the German language in general use. Amongst themselves they kept alive their separatist German feeling. Even to-day there are villages in South Australia where the English language is little used except for business purposes.

## CHAPTER XIV

### OLD NEW ZEALAND

1642

*Antithesis of Australia.*

IN almost every respect the history of New Zealand differs from that of Australia. To begin with, the natural setting and geographical features are altogether different. In place of a great continent of 3,000,000 square miles with a coast but little indented, with great plains and few important mountains, and with a generally dry climate and large areas of arid country, you find two long, narrow islands with a broken and irregular coast-line, chains of mighty mountains rising in Mount Cook to over 12,000 feet, or not far short of twice the loftiest mountain in Australia, and a climate to which droughts in the Australian sense are practically unknown. New Zealand is a land of mountains and hills, and even the plains, when in a state of nature, were covered for the most part with fern, forest and brushwood except in the Canterbury region on the eastern side of the South Island.

*The Maoris.*

The contrast extended to the inhabitants. The aborigines of Australia were of an exceedingly primitive type. Their numbers, too, were very small in comparison with the vast areas over which they roamed, and at no time did they offer any serious obstacle to the progress of settlement. The Maoris of New Zealand, an offshoot of the great Polynesian race which occupied the islands scattered over a vast area of ocean in the Pacific, were savages of a much higher type. They lived in strong tribes or clans, cultivated the soil, built canoes of remarkable size and strength, and were skilled in carving and in other arts. Physically they were a far stronger and more heavily built race than the Australian aborigines. In disposition they were bold and aggressive, and their greatest delight was in fighting. A

battle was meat and drink to them—the former literally, for they were inveterate cannibals. What their numbers were can only roughly be guessed at. They occupied the coastal regions of the North Island in considerable strength, though the inland districts were more thinly peopled. The South Island, with the exception of the southern shores of Cook Strait, was almost empty. The Maoris were immigrants from warmer climes, and they did not thrive in the southern island, which extends southward to 48° of south latitude.

In animal life and in vegetation New Zealand was utterly different to Australia. The peculiar marsupials of Australia were completely absent. Indeed, New Zealand was originally almost without higher animals of any sort. The dog, introduced by the Maoris, the bat, a species of rat, and the whales and seals in the surrounding seas, completed the list of indigenous animals. Reptiles were represented by a few lizards, but there were no snakes. That vast flightless bird, the moa, twice as large as an ostrich, had become extinct in comparatively recent times; but the kiwi and the Weka, smaller editions of the moa, still survive. The former existence of the moa, by the way, has led some to conjecture that the account of an Arab traveller of the thirteenth century about an island far off in the Southern ocean, empty of men and inhabited by gigantic birds, implies knowledge of New Zealand. It is much more likely to refer to Mauritius and the dodo. It is not likely that when the Maoris reached New Zealand, probably in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, the land was uninhabited. The Morioris of Chatham Island, 500 miles away to the eastward, are probably the relic of a kindred race that occupied New Zealand before the Maoris.

There is no reason to doubt that when Tasman stumbled on New Zealand in December, 1642, while searching for the Great Southland, he was the first European to sight its shores. It was an ominous beginning; for at Murderers' Bay the Maoris attacked a Dutch boat and slew four of its occupants. Tasman did not land, and after coasting part of the western side of New Zealand, he sailed northward.

1643

He gave to the new-found region the name of Staten Land, thinking that it might be connected with the Staten Land near Cape Horn. When it was proved, in 1643, that the Cape Horn Staten Land was but an island, the Dutch gave the country the name of New Zealand.

*Coming of  
Cook.*

New Zealand was not again visited by Europeans till 1769, when Cook circumnavigated the islands and charted their coasts. In the same year Surville, a French navigator, touched at the North Island. How Cook visited New Zealand again and yet again, while he never returned to Australia except for a passing visit in 1770, has already been mentioned. Cook gave potatoes to the Maoris, who soon learned to appreciate them, and also set pigs loose in the woods. Until recently, wild pigs were often called "Captain Cookers" in New Zealand, but how far they were descended from Captain Cook's pigs, rather than from later importations, is doubtful.

Cook came into collision with the Maoris on one or two occasions, but it was the Maoris who suffered. The case was different when his colleague Furneaux visited Queen Charlotte Sound in 1773. A cutter's crew of ten men was cut off, and every man was killed and afterwards eaten by the natives. When Phillip settled at Botany Bay in 1788 it was suggested that incorrigible offenders should be sent to New Zealand to serve as food for the natives; but this remarkable suggestion was never carried into effect.

*Vancouver  
and  
Hanson.*

The next English visitor was Vancouver, who, in 1791, called at Dusky Bay on his way to the north-west coast of America. In 1792 the *Dædalus*, a store-ship which had met Vancouver at Nootka Sound, touched at New Zealand. Her commander, Lieutenant Hanson, kidnapped two Maori chiefs, who were sent to Norfolk Island that they might instruct the settlers there in the manufacture of the New Zealand flax (*Phormium tenax*), which grows in that island as well as in New Zealand. The chiefs had little knowledge of the dressing of flax, a task left to the women and slaves, and in 1793 King took them home again, and presented them with seed potatoes and other vegetables.

The first attempt to exploit the resources of New Zealand

was made in 1792, when William Raven, master of the *Britannia*, left a gang of eleven men at Dusky Bay under William Leith, his second mate. At this period China offered the chief market for sealskins and for other furs.

1792

*First Sealing Gang.*

To China were sent not only the furs from Siberia, but those from the north-west coast of America, and the first sealskins from Australasian waters. Towards the end of the century the market was flooded, and sealskins fell to 4s. or 5s., a price which did not pay. About the beginning of the nineteenth century the trade shifted to England, where the fur was largely used in hat making.

Malaspina, the Spanish navigator, visited Doubtful Sound in 1793, on his way to Sydney. The beginning of the timber trade, which ranks next to sealing in point of time, dates from the end of 1794, when the brig *Fancy*, under Captain Dell, spent three months in the River Thames, in the North Island, and carried away 200 pine-trees, ranging from 60 to 140 feet in length.

*Trade in Timber and Spars.*

Another voyage to Dusky was made in 1795, when the *Fancy*, accompanied by the 800-ton vessel *Endeavour*, sailed thither from Sydney. Reference has already been made to the great numbers of stowaways arriving by vessels leaving Sydney, but the *Endeavour* probably held the record. Forty men and one woman were found stowed away on board. The *Endeavour* was condemned as unseaworthy after reaching Dusky and run on shore, where what is left of her remains to this day. Hatherleigh, the carpenter of the *Endeavour*, completed the schooner which Leith, the leader of Raven's gang, had begun in 1792. She was named *Providence* and carried ninety persons to Norfolk Island and thence to Sydney. Even then thirty-five persons were left at Dusky Bay, and they were not taken away till 1797, when the American vessel *Mercury* called for them, and landed them at Norfolk Island.

*First Ship-building.*

For six years we hear little of New Zealand. How Bass proposed to develop a trade in fish, oil, and sealskins, and how his plans were overthrown by his disappearance, has already been told. Up till 1803 Bass Strait was the great sealing ground of Australasia. But in 1803 the 31-ton

*Bass Strait Sealers try New Zealand.*

1803

schooner *Endeavour*, commanded by Joseph Oliphant, went to Dusky Bay after landing a sealing gang on the Sisters, near Flinders Island. It is interesting to note that *Endeavour* was the name alike of Cook's vessel when he discovered Dusky Bay, of the first vessel wrecked there, and of the first Bass Strait sealer to visit the place.

From that time on the Sydney sealers turned their attention more and more to the South Island of New Zealand and the off-lying islands, which furnished some phenomenally rich sealing grounds.

*Trade with  
Natives,  
Maori  
"Heads."*

About this time, too, whaling vessels took to calling regularly at the Bay of Islands in the far north for provisions and supplies of wood and water. The whalers traded with the Maoris and Maoris often shipped for a voyage on whaling vessels. The Maoris were quick to appreciate the superiority of the white man's tools and weapons. For an axe worth a few shillings the early traders could buy timber worth £10 in Sydney. Later a musket, with a few bullets and a little powder, were sold for a ton of scraped flax worth the original cost of these articles a dozen times over. Potatoes, pork, and Maori canoes were other staples of trade. Strangest of all were the tattooed heads, and there were times when a good head was worth £20 in Sydney, though at others, when the market was flooded, heads would not fetch £2 apiece. Occasionally a trader bought the head of a man who was still alive, and the Maori seller did not fail to deliver the goods. When the supply of heads of slain enemies ran short, slaves had their faces prepared for market. Sometimes they were inconsiderate enough to run away with their own heads after much time and trouble had been spent on them. Some sellers cut the heads off first and tattooed them afterwards, but this was not fair to the buyers, because the lines wore off. So popular did the head trading become that in 1831 Governor Darling had to prohibit it by proclamation, imposing a fine of £40 for breaches of the prohibition.

*Relation to  
New South  
Wales.*

Some Governors of New South Wales, King and Macquarie, for instance, claimed jurisdiction over New Zealand, and Macquarie appointed a missionary at the Bay of Islands

to act as magistrate. But for most practical purposes New Zealand was a No Man's Land, and the happy hunting ground of runaway convicts, deserters from vessels, sealers, and bay whalers. As early as 1813 three Sydney merchant firms, Lord and Williams, Alexander Riley, and Thomas Kent, had put before Macquarie proposals for establishing a trade in New Zealand flax. They desired a monopoly for fourteen years; but though Macquarie reported in favour of this, the authorities in England would not grant the concession, and the proposal fell through, though later a lively trade in flax was developed.

On eight different occasions, between 1817 and 1836, *Pakeha Maoris.* the British authorities disclaimed possession of the islands. As time went on, nearly every tribe found it convenient to have at least one white man, called a Pakeha Maori, to act as interpreter and intermediary in trade with the whites. Men skilled in such a craft as blacksmithing or the care of guns were also welcomed. When bay whaling flourished certain white men, living Maori fashion, were called "tonguers," either because they spoke the Maori tongue and served as interpreters, or because they were given the tongues of the whales for their services as interpreters and go-betweens. Some white men became more than Pakeha Maoris. In 1823 one Maori tribe was led by a man named James Caddell, who had been captured by the Maoris as a boy, had adopted their customs, and captained them in cannibal raids on the sealing gangs. With him was another white man named Stuart, who had come from Kangaroo Island with an Australian aboriginal wife, and acted as pilot and leader of the savages.

Of the tragedies of the wild and lawless period but one *Battle and Massacre.* or two can be mentioned. In 1809 the Maoris surprised at Whangaroa Harbour the 500-ton ship *Boyd*. Between sixty and seventy passengers were killed and eaten, and only four, a woman and two children and a boy, were spared and afterwards rescued. The captains of five whaling vessels banded themselves together to take vengeance, but unluckily they fell upon a friendly chief who had had nothing to do with the massacre, but had protected the

1829

survivors. As late as 1829 the brig *Hawes* was seized by the Maoris at the Bay of Plenty and all on board were slain. Early in 1817 James Kelly, the man who sailed round Tasmania in a whaleboat, had a fierce struggle with the Maoris at Otago. They fell upon his boat's crew as he was bartering for potatoes and slew three of them, including a man called Tucker who had lived amongst the Maoris for some time. Kelly fought his way through them and gained his vessel, the *Sophia*. The Maoris attempted to take the vessel, but Kelly and his crew slew sixteen with their sealing knives and drove the others overboard.

*Missionary Enterprise.*

Whalers, sealers, runaways, and beachcombers were not the only emissaries of civilisation to visit New Zealand. As early as 1814 Samuel Marsden, Senior Chaplain in New South Wales, established a mission station at the Bay of Islands. On his return voyage from London in 1809, Marsden had become acquainted with a Bay of Islands chief named Ruatara, who had worked his passage to London as a sailor. Marsden befriended the Maori and cared for him in illness. When Marsden visited New Zealand he bought 200 acres of land for twelve axes, the deed by which it was granted being the first conveyance of land ever executed in New Zealand, and established his mission station upon it. Marsden's first missionaries were Kendall, who had been a London schoolmaster, and King, a master carpenter. They not only attempted to convert the Maoris, but taught them useful arts and traded with them. When the brig *Active* returned with Marsden she brought flax and timber to the value of £450. The Christian religion made slow progress. It took ten years to make one convert. After 1833 more progress was made. But the influence of the missionaries extended to many who did not become Christians. It was the missionaries, aided by Professor Lee of Cambridge, who gave the Maoris a written language. In 1834 they set up at the Bay of Islands New Zealand's first printing press. To Lee and the missionaries we owe a reasonable and intelligent method of spelling Maori names. The early navigators and settlers made some weird and wonderful attempts at spelling Maori words. Thus the Forsters who

1839

accompanied Cook gave Putangi-Tangi, the name of the Paradise Duck, as Pooaduggie-Duggie, and the name Hokianga was variously spelt Showkiangi, Sukyanna, Jokeeangai, and Chokahanga.

The missionaries had little sympathy with another class *The Bay Whalers.* of settlers, the bay whalers, who occupied many points of the coast, mainly on the shores of Cook's Strait and in the South Island. Yet, reckless as these men were, they were in their way a civilising agency. Most of them had Maori wives and entered into friendly relations with the neighbouring tribes. Sometimes they took part in Maori quarrels and acquitted themselves in such a way as to earn the respect of the hard-fighting savages. It was largely thanks to the help of Dicky Barrett, the head-man of the Taranaki whaling station, and his men that the Ngatiawa tribe beat off a raid by the Waikato men. It was Barrett who, in 1839, piloted Colonel Wakefield and his settlers into Port Nicholson, the harbour of Wellington.

Courage, discipline, and skill were called forth by the very nature of the whalers' business. And the rewards were sometimes high enough to tempt not only ex-convicts and seamen, but many natives of New South Wales, the "Currency Lads." The whalers were not paid a fixed wage, but a "lay," or a certain proportion of the value of their catches, and so their remuneration depended largely on their skill and activities. Sometimes their luck was great. At Jacob's River in the far south eleven whales were once captured in seventeen days. Most of the whaling stations were financed by Sydney merchants, and the organisation was much the same as that of the bay whaling stations in Van Diemen's Land and Southern Australia. As late as 1843 it was estimated that there were over thirty stations in Cook's Strait and on the coast of the South Island, manned by nearly 1,000 men. Very soon after this, however, bay whaling declined rapidly, mainly owing to the reckless and improvident slaughter of the "cows" and "calves." Some of those connected with whaling played a leading part in the life of the colony in later days. One of these was "Johnny" Jones of Waikouaiti, near Dunedin. Originally

1818

a Sydney waterman, he carried on farming as well as whaling, and even endowed a mission station. It is recorded that his first missionary, after two years there, greeted his successor with the words, "Welcome to purgatory, brother Creed."

*Some  
Notable  
Whalemen.*

Tradition has preserved some memory of the more noted bay whalers, in contrast to Tasmania, where a few place-names are all the record left of those stirring days. There was Stewart, the godfather of Stewart Island, who went home to Scotland after an absence of many years, played the part of Enoch Arden in real life, and returned to New Zealand to spend the rest of his life amongst the Maoris, wearing the royal Stewart tartan to the last. Noted as the best steersman in New Zealand was Chaseland, a half-caste whose mother had been an Australian aborigine. His greatest exploit was to steer an open boat from Chatham Island to Otago across 500 miles of stormy seas. Another famous boat-steerer was Black Murray, who once compelled his crew to pull across Cook's Strait at night and in a gale because they were intoxicated, and would have become more intoxicated if they had not put out to sea. There were Maori whalers too, such as the great Otago chief Tu Hawa'ki, whom the white whalers nicknamed, as a mark of affectionate respect, "Bloody Jack," and who made his home on the island of Ruapuke.

*Dealers in  
Guns,  
Powder, and  
Bullets.*

But the men who really paved the way for white occupation of New Zealand were the dealers in muskets and ammunition. The use of firearms in Maori warfare gave an immense advantage to those tribes who possessed the new weapons. The result was twenty years of bloodshed and slaughter which swept away many thousands of Maoris and led to migrations on a scale before unknown. The Ngapuhi tribe, settled round the Bay of Islands in the far north, which was frequented by whalers and traders, was the first to get hold of firearms, and they used them with terrible effect. As early as 1818 a Ngapuhi chief had armed his men with thirty-five muskets. But the man who really made effective use of the new arm was Hongi Ika, the "Napoleon of New Zealand." In 1820 he and another chief were taken to England by Kendall, the missionary, to help Professor Lee

in his Maori grammar and dictionary. The two chiefs were the "lions" of a London season and were presented to George IV., who gave Hongi a suit of armour. When Hongi returned to Sydney he sold all his presents except the armour, and bought 300 muskets with powder and bullets. With these weapons Hongi's men raided the North Island far and wide and slaughtered and ate to their hearts' content. There was no difficulty about the commissariat. It is said that the chief Te Rauparaha, when asked years afterwards for details of his great march to Cook's Strait and into the South Island, remarked that it was quite simple. "We ate our way through," he said. It was much the same with Hongi. Between 1821 and 1827 he carried slaughter and devastation far and wide. Whole districts were left without inhabitants. Hongi protected and favoured the missionaries, but he remained a heathen to the last. The members of his tribe were too scanty to enable him to make lasting conquests, and soon muskets ceased to be a monopoly. To obtain muskets the tribes traded away their most precious possessions, and unscrupulous white traders, mostly from Sydney, did a roaring business. Hongi was finally shot in the lung in a fight for which he had neglected to put on his armour, and after lingering for fifteen months he died.

Only second to Hongi in fame was Te Rauparaha, known "*Satan*" to the whalers as "*Satan*" or the "*Old Sarpint*." A native <sup>and</sup> *Stewart*. of Taranaki, he, like Hongi, saw that nothing could stand against the white men's muskets. He had made a raid to Cook's Strait and noted the strategic value of Kapiti or Entry Island. He persuaded his tribe to migrate and settle on this island, where they were safe from attack by land, and established on a fertile and easily defended island. He traded with the white men for muskets and other necessaries of life and also protected a settlement of whalers on this island. For a score of years Te Rauparaha carried devastation far and wide along both shores of Cook's Strait and over the South Island. It is only fair to say that in his most atrocious crime he was aided and abetted by a white man, one Stewart (not the sealer), master of the brig *Elizabeth*. For thirty tons of flax Stewart agreed to take Te Rauparaha

1823

and a party of his braves to Akaroa on Banks' Peninsula. When they arrived the Maoris hid below and Stewart enticed Tamaihana-nui, the Akaroa chief, and his people on board to trade. They were all slain, except the chief, his wife and daughter, and Te Rauparaha's men landed and killed all that they could find. Then came a cannibal feast on board, the material for which was cooked in the brig's coppers. Of the captives the girl sprang overboard and was drowned, and the chief and his wife Stewart, after he had received the flax, handed over to be tortured. Stewart sailed to Sydney, where he was arrested and charged with murder. But the attempt to prosecute him failed. Stewart died at sea off Cape Horn. Te Rauparaha met his match in the Otago chief named Tu Hawaiki, known to the whalers as "Bloody Jack."

Such a deed as that of Stewart and the general lawlessness and anarchy of New Zealand drew the attention of the authorities in Sydney, and eventually in London, to New Zealand. In 1823 and 1828 the Sydney Courts of Law had been given jurisdiction over white residents of New Zealand, and there are several other cases, besides that of Stewart, in which men were tried for crimes committed there. Generally they were acquitted; but in 1837 one Edward Doyle was hanged for the comparatively minor offence of stealing from a dwelling in the Bay of Islands and putting John Wright in bodily fear.

*New Zealand not Wanted.* In 1825 a company was formed in England to buy land and settle colonists in the North Island. In fact Captain Herd, the Company's agent, bought land at Hokianga and took thither a shipload of settlers. But the tribal wars were still raging and the sight of a Maori war-dance, coupled with other obstacles to settlement, caused the would-be colonists to go on to Sydney. The authorities in England did not want to annex New Zealand. They held, as the Duke of Wellington once put it, that Great Britain had colonies enough. Many of the missionaries desired to see the islands a Maori "preserve," and discouraged the idea of colonisation. But settlers in the shape of bay whalers, traders, and Pakeha Maoris, came in ever increasing numbers.

1833

By 1840 there were some 2,000 white men in New Zealand. In 1833 James Busby had been sent to the Bay of Islands as a British Resident, and he held the post for six years, but Busby, nicknamed "the man of war without guns," was backed by no force and his authority was practically non-existent. In 1835 he drew up a constitution for the Maoris, providing for a Congress and other machinery of civilisation. It was accepted by thirty-five chiefs, but remained a dead letter.

About this time there were certain signs of French interest in New Zealand. An adventurer of French extraction, the Baron de Thierry, bought, or claimed to have bought, 40,000 acres of land near Hokianga from the Maoris. He proclaimed himself King of New Zealand and indulged in other harmless eccentricities. More practical were the exertions of the French whaling captain Langlois, who claimed to have bought from the Maoris 300,000 acres on Banks' Peninsula in the South Island. The "Nanto-Bordelaise Company" was formed to found a French colony on this land.

*French Interest.*

Moved by the fear of French interference as much as by *Treaty of Waitangi*. other considerations, the British authorities took action. On January 29, 1840, Captain Hobson landed at Kororareka in the Bay of Islands with a dormant commission authorising him to annex all or part of New Zealand. About the same time a proclamation was issued in Sydney including New Zealand within the political boundaries of New South Wales, so that Hobson would act as Lieutenant-Governor. In May, 1840, Hobson concluded at Waitangi a treaty with fifty chiefs. By this the Maoris ceded to the Queen all powers of sovereignty and in return were guaranteed full and exclusive possession of their lands and other properties. The exclusive right of pre-emption was granted to the Crown at such prices as might be agreed upon with the proprietors. This treaty marks a clear distinction between the position of the aborigines in Australia and that of the natives of New Zealand. In Australia the right of the aborigines to land was never recognised; in New Zealand it was guaranteed to the full. Within the next six months 572

1840

Maori chiefs, many of them chiefs on a very small scale, had signed the treaty. It was, indeed, accepted by all but a few of the Maoris, and they had every reason to accept it.

*Akaroa.* The threat of French annexation was countered. In July, 1840, the French frigate *L'Aube* called at the Bay of Islands on her way to Akaroa. There is a tradition that, from some remarks made by the French, Captain Hobson concluded that there was a design to establish a French claim to the possession of most of the South Island. He sent Captain Stanley in the *Bromart* to hoist the British flag at Akaroa. This was done on August 10, and the French frigate did not arrive till August 15. On the next day Langlois arrived with fifty-seven French settlers. The colonists settled down quietly at Akaroa, but all idea of French sovereignty in New Zealand was at an end; France, as De Thierry put it, had now "lost the port of Akaroa." Most of the French settlers later removed to the Marquesas Island, but a few settled down permanently at Akaroa as British subjects.

*Speculators and Land Sharks.* Even before the formal proclamation of British sovereignty over New Zealand settlers from Great Britain had begun to arrive in New Zealand. Shrewd speculators from Sydney and elsewhere, too, had come to the conclusion that land in New Zealand would soon be worth having, and were buying large tracts from the Maoris. Beside some of their dealings John Batman's "treaty" with the aborigines seems very modest and moderate. In one case it was claimed that 20,000,000 acres, or nearly the whole of the South Island, had been bought from seven native chiefs and W. C. Wentworth was one of the purchasers. It was estimated in 1840 that, apart from this claim, more than 26,000,000 acres, or considerably over a third of the whole area of New Zealand, was alleged to have been bought from the Maoris. Many of the more preposterous claims were disallowed; others were the cause of trouble, and in some cases of bloodshed, in succeeding years.

*The New Zealand Company.* The colonisation of New Zealand was largely the work of that remarkable man Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who had

1837  
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so much to do with the founding of South Australia. Wakefield was much dissatisfied with the watered-down form in which his principles had been applied in South Australia, and turned to New Zealand as a land in which they might be given a fair trial. In 1837 there was formed the "New Zealand Association," which included amongst its members the Earl of Durham and a number of members of the House of Commons. Negotiations with the Colonial Office yielded no very definite result, and in 1839 Wakefield and his associates resolved to force the official hand. As the authorities persisted in considering New Zealand a foreign country, it was decided to go ahead in accordance with that theory. The ship *Tory* was secretly despatched, carrying with it Colonel Wakefield, Wakefield's brother, who was authorised to purchase lands as the agent of the New Zealand Company, which had replaced the New Zealand Association. With magnificent audacity the Company had already sold 100,000 acres of land at £1 an acre, though the claim that the Company had purchased extensive tracts of land rested on very doubtful foundations. When Colonel Wakefield reached New Zealand he enlisted the services of Barrett, the whaler, as pilot and interpreter.

He reached Port Nicholson in September, 1839, and entered into negotiations, as the result of which he ultimately claimed to have bought 20,000,000 acres, or nearly a third of New Zealand. The most important part of the purchase price was 200 muskets. There was, however, a vast array of other articles, including 300 red blankets, 6 casks of soap, 3,200 fish-hooks, a ton or so of tobacco, 72 writing slates, 480 pocket handkerchiefs, 144 Jews' harps, and 24 combs. The value of the whole was under £9,000. At this price, therefore, the Company would have made a fine profit by selling land at £1 an acre. It is only fair to say that there was no intention of making money out of the business, and that the difference between the cost of the land and the price paid by the colonists was to be spent in bringing out labourers, providing roads and other necessities of civilisation, and, in fact, in fully establishing the colony. It must also be mentioned that it

*Muskets  
and Jews'  
Harps.*

1840

was proposed to reserve one-tenth of the land for the Maoris.

Without waiting to hear how Colonel Wakefield was getting on, the Company sent out its first batch of settlers, who reached Port Nicholson on January 22, 1840, the date of the beginning of the new era in New Zealand. Shipload after shipload of settlers was sent out by the Company, and settled down round Port Nicholson and elsewhere in the regions bordering on Cook Strait. Their headquarters, placed first at a place which they named Britannia, were transferred a little later to Wellington, now the capital of New Zealand. For the time being, however, the capital was far to the north. Hobson, who was appointed Governor when New Zealand was, after a few months, severed from New South Wales, first established himself at the Bay of Islands, and then moved further south to Auckland. There he laid the foundation of the city which remained the capital for twenty-four years, and is still the largest town in New Zealand.

Had the South Island, which had but a very small Maori population, been settled first much trouble might have been avoided. But at this time little or nothing was known of the South Island, apart from such knowledge as was possessed by the bay whalers. Wakefield's settlers were planted around Wellington, and in the Taranaki and Wanganui districts of the North Island, and at Nelson in the South. The Company's land claims were reported upon by the Commissioner, Mr. Spain, who cut the 20,000,000 acres claimed down to 283,000. A curious by-product of the Company's activities was an attempt to sell Chatham Island to a German company. R. D. Hanson, an agent of the New Zealand Company, claimed to have bought the island from the native Morioris, and in 1841 it was offered to a German colonisation company formed in Hamburg. The British authorities, however, vetoed the proceedings, and New Zealand did not receive a share of the stream of German colonisation which, about this time, set strongly towards South Australia, and to a smaller extent towards Port Phillip.

Settlers at  
Port  
Nicholson.

Land  
Claims and  
Dealings.

1843

The first serious collision between the colonists and the Maoris, and the beginning of a long period of wars and rumours of wars which did not finally end till 1870, occurred in 1843. The New Zealand Company had established a settlement at Nelson and their agent there, another of the Wakefield brothers, claimed to have bought the fertile Wairau valley from Te Rauparaha, who was, next to Hongi, the most famous of the Maori chiefs, and Rangihetaea. The chiefs denied that they had sold the land, warned off the surveyors, and destroyed the huts that had been built, and Spain, the Land Commissioner, was to have come down shortly to deal with the dispute. But Wakefield would not wait for him. With the magistrate from Nelson, and a party of settlers, he set out to arrest Te Rauparaha, whom he found surrounded by armed men. Rauparaha refused to submit to arrest; there was a scuffle and then a shot was fired by one of the Europeans, apparently by accident. The Maoris attacked, and most of the settlers broke and fled. Wakefield and eight others surrendered, but were slain in cold blood by Rangihetaea, who had a blood-feud with the English to avenge. Twenty-two settlers and four Maoris were killed in the affray. No punishment was ever inflicted on Rangihetaea and those with him, the authorities considering that the Europeans were the aggressors. In any case, an attempt to avenge the massacre might have led to an outbreak which would have swept the white men from the islands. It was established that at that time there were 110,000 Maoris in New Zealand, and the white settlers numbered hardly a tenth of that number. Moreover, they were almost all settled in the North Island, and in the extreme north of the South Island, where the Maoris were numerous. The settlement of the South Island had scarcely begun. That the Maoris did not march on Wellington under Rauparaha and Rangihetaea was due to the restraining influence of the missionary Hadfield, and still more to that of the Maori chief Rangetake. In a petition signed by the Mayor and 700 of the inhabitants of Wellington, it was stated that it was in the power of the Maoris at any time to massacre the whole of the British

*Wairau Massacre.*

1844

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*Taxation  
and Land  
Sales.*

population of Cook Strait, and that Rauparaha had been known to declare that he would do it.

While troubles with the Maoris and quarrels between the officials and the New Zealand Land Company complicated the position, the financial outlook grew worse and worse. In 1844 the new Governor, Fitzroy, stated that at the best he could not hope for a revenue of more than £20,000, while his expenditure must be at least £35,000.

Much of the revenue, such as it was, came from Customs duties. The settlers and Maoris at the Bay of Islands, finding that whalers and other vessels did not come there as they had formerly done, attributed this to the Customs duties. To please them Fitzroy abolished the duties. Naturally every other port demanded the same concession. This was granted. Fitzroy then tried, not very successfully, to raise the revenue by a combination of income and property tax. Finally he went back to Customs duties. The land question, too, was a pitfall for Fitzroy. Under the arrangements made by Hobson, only the Government could purchase land from the Maoris. This it might afterwards sell to the white settlers. Fitzroy decided to allow colonists to buy direct from the Maoris, but imposed a duty of 10s. an acre on each sale. This he reduced under pressure to a penny an acre. The result was bad for the Maoris, and not altogether good for the settlers. In the Taranaki region the vast areas claimed by the New Zealand Company had been cut down by the Commissioners to 60,000 acres. Now the Company's claim even to this was disputed by Maoris who had been enslaved by the Waikato tribe but had now been set free and returned, and by others returning from the lands along Cook Strait to which they had fled. Fitzroy decided that these returning Maoris were the true owners of the land, and handed it all back to them except 3,200 acres. He may have been right according to Maori custom and law, but his action almost ruined the Taranaki settlement, and was bitterly resented by the colonists. The Wai-tara lands were to be the cause of savage strife in later days.

The immediate outbreak, however, was far to the north, at the Bay of Islands. In 1844 Honi Heke, a son-in-law of

*The Flag-  
staff War.*

Hongi and a chieftain of the Ngapuhi tribe, cut down the flagstaff which bore the English flag at Kororareka and plundered some of the houses. Heke resented the passing away of trade and shipping from the Bay of Islands, and destroyed the flagstaff as the visible evidence of British sovereignty, an act instigated by certain beachcombers and Pakeha Maoris. Some of these men yearned for the old lawless days, and stirred up the more turbulent Maoris, who began to talk about driving the settlers from the land. However, a strong body of the Ngapuhi under Waka Nene held to the side of law and order, and opposed Honi Heke. Heke paid a fine for cutting down the flagstaff, but very soon cut it down again. It was re-erected, and soldiers and sailors were sent to guard it, while H.M.S. *Hazard* lay off the town. Heke, however, marched on Kororareka with 800 men early in 1845, overcame the resistance, and again cut down the flagstaff. The victorious Maoris then plundered the town, which eventually caught fire, probably by accident, and was burnt. It is worth noting that the crew of the American man-of-war *St. Louis*, which was lying off Kororareka at the time, helped to bring off the women and children, and gave them shelter on board. The British loss in this fight was thirty-one killed and wounded, while that of Heke's men, owing to the fire of the *Hazard's* guns, was much greater. To meet the dangers of Maori attacks troops were brought from Sydney; and 400 men, assisted by 400 friendly Maoris under Waka Nene, advanced to attack a fortified post at Okaihau. They did not succeed in taking it, and the troops went back to Auckland while guns were brought from Australia. When they came, Colonel Despard bombarded a pah, or fortified position, at Ohaeawai, and then ordered an assault. The inner defences were still intact, and the Maoris within shot down at short range over half of the attacking force of 200, of whom forty died. The Maoris withdrew from the position later, but they counted the affair as a victory.

So serious did things look in New Zealand that Captain George Grey, who had saved South Australia, was hurriedly ordered to leave Adelaide to see what he could do in New

*Grey as Governor.*

1845

Zealand. He reached Auckland on November 14, 1845, and set to work at once to end the "flagstaff" war. With 1,200 soldiers and sailors, and a strong force of Maoris, he advanced towards a Maori stronghold called the "Bat's Nest." In spite of a strong artillery fire the place held out stubbornly until Sunday, when the defenders withdrew to an open space to hold a service. A few soldiers and friendly Maoris, led by Waka Nene's brother, crept up and climbed in, and the place was taken. This ended the struggle; Heke and his supporters surrendered. A relative and namesake of Heke's later became a member of the New Zealand Parliament.

*Treachery  
and Trans-  
portation.*

The fighting in the north was over, but in the region of Cook Strait there was still skirmishing with Rangihetaea and his followers. Rauparaha was nominally neutral, but Grey was satisfied that he was secretly in collusion with the insurgents. With a treacherous subtlety worthy of Rauparaha himself, Grey had the old chief, who had trusted the English, seized while he slept, and kept in a kind of honourable captivity. It was at this time that five Wanganui chiefs were arrested and transported to Van Diemen's Land, where one of them died at Maria Island. Grey suggested that it would be an advantage if they were "from time to time really kept to hard labour, and if they could be allowed to correspond with their friends, the letters passing through the Government of New Zealand." In this way he considered their friends in New Zealand would find out what transportation really meant. Still less defensible than the seizure of Rauparaha was the trial by court-martial and hanging of a Maori prisoner of war, one Wareaiti. The fighting lingered on till 1847, when Rauparaha was released and Rangihetaea settled down peacefully and became a maker of roads.

*Grey and  
the Con-  
stitution.*

Though not scrupulous in his choice of means, Grey was a man of genius as well as of vigour and resolution. Apart from that he was far better supported by the British authorities than his predecessors, and received enough money and men to make it possible to maintain peace and order. He studied not only the language, but the history, customs,

1846

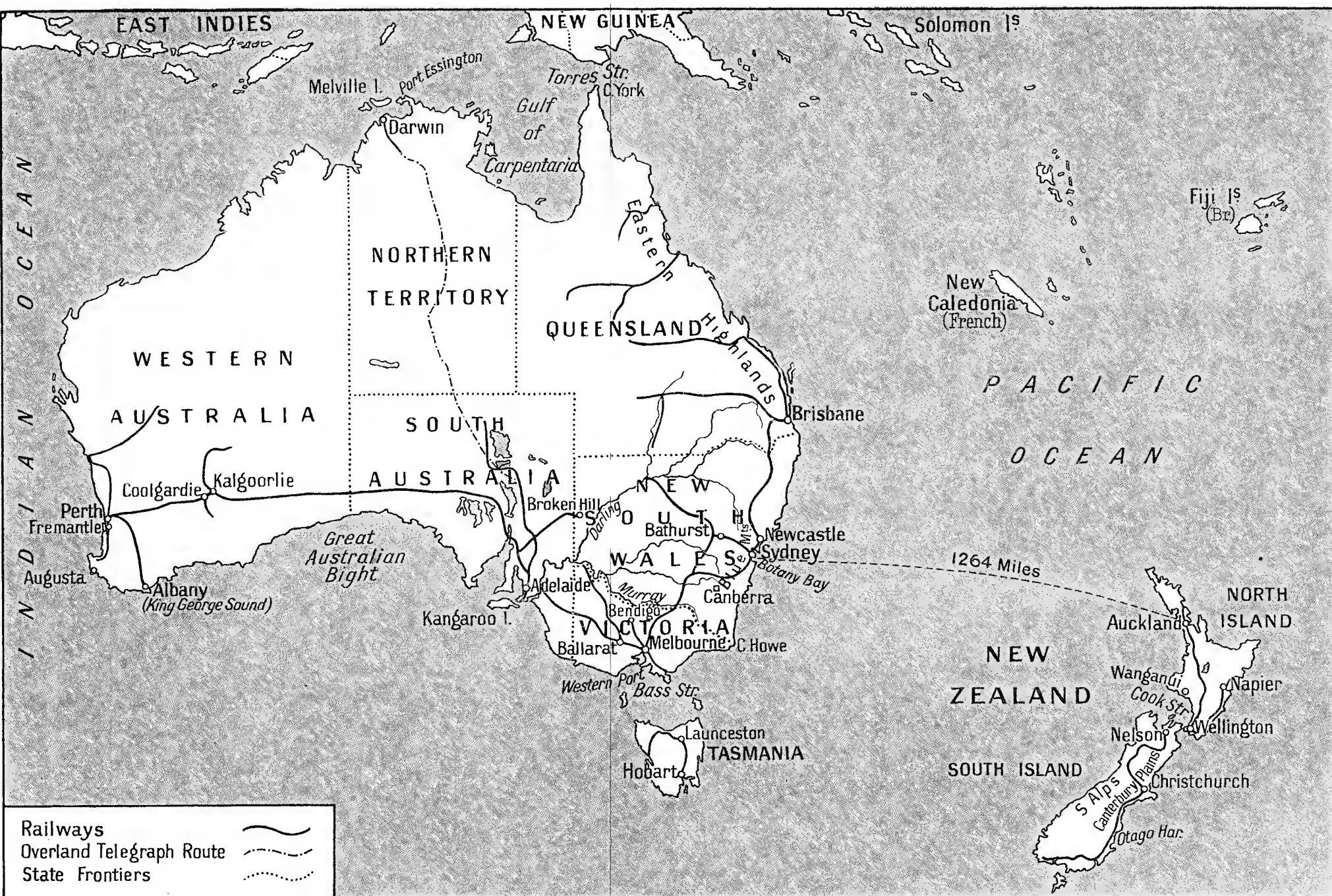
religion, and art of the Maoris, and few men have understood them better. He did away with the practice of the private purchase of Maori lands, allowed by Fitzroy, prescribing that all lands must be bought through the Government; but his influence with the Maoris made it easy to buy the land. Grey was a born autocrat. When, in 1846, the Secretary of State for the Colonies sent a constitution under which the colonists were to govern themselves, and incidentally the Maoris, Grey quietly put it aside, which was probably a wise though not a popular action. Until 1853, when he left New Zealand for South Africa, Grey ruled alone and on the whole he ruled well. He was to return again as Governor during another period of storm and stress, and later to enter politics and become Premier of the colony of which he had twice been Governor. No man did so much to build up British colonisation in the nineteenth century as Sir George Grey.

Until 1848 the only settlements in the South Island, *The Dunedin Colony.* apart from those on the southern side of Cook Strait, were the whaling stations, at some of which, as in the case of Johnny Jones at Waikouaiti, farming was combined with whaling and the holdings of a few stray settlers. But in 1848 a Scottish colony, consisting of members of the Free Kirk, led by Captain Cargill and the Rev. Thomas Burns, a nephew of Robert Burns, settled at Otago, where 400,000 acres had been bought from "Bloody Jack" and other Maoris for about £2,000. The Scots called their village Dunedin and made steady but slow progress. Buyers of land at the "sufficient price" of £2 an acre were few, especially after Grey had, in 1853, reduced the price of land in New Zealand generally to 10s. an acre; but gradually the area of occupation extended and it was found that there was much good pasture-land to be had. It was at Dunedin that the deliberations of the embryo Parliament were disturbed by the daughter of one of the members, a tailor, who called out to her father: "Andra has come for his breeks."

Another important step in the colonisation of the South Island was made in 1850, when Canterbury was established *Canterbury Settlement.*

1850

on the strict lines of the Wakefield principle. The projectors aimed at transplanting, to use Gibbon Wakefield's analogy, the tree of English society with every root and twig. They chose for the site of their experiment the Canterbury Plains, the only real large area of open and comparatively level country in New Zealand. Land was to be sold at £3 an acre, of which £1 went to maintain the Church and £2 to promote immigration and to carry on development. Later Grey cut off the £1 to the Church, but within the original area acquired by the Company the price remained at £2 an acre. One good result of this was that there were ample funds for roads and other public works and the Canterbury country included much of the finest pasture-land in New Zealand. Owing to this and to the absence of Maori troubles, progress was rapid. In seven years the settlers had 500,000 sheep, and settlers skilled in sheep and wool were attracted to the South Island from Australia and Tasmania and taught the new colonists much. In 1852 the New Zealand Company, which had, in spite of its blunders, done much to promote the settlement and development of New Zealand, came to an end. Its debts to the British Government were written off and its land rights were commuted for £200,000 in cash paid by New Zealand. Gibbon Wakefield, the moving spirit of the Company, settled at Canterbury, went into New Zealand politics, and died in the colony. (Samuel Butler, the author of "Erewhon," was for a time a settler in Canterbury.)



MAP OF AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND TO ACCOMPANY "THE MAKING OF AUSTRALASIA," BY THOMAS DUNBAIN, B.A. (A. & C. BLACK, LTD., LONDON.)



## CHAPTER XV

### LAND, LABOUR, AND THE PASTORAL INDUSTRY

THE decade from 1840 to 1850 was the great age of the pastoral industry in Australia. Actually, indeed, the industry was far less important than in later years, but during this period it ruled almost without a rival. Agriculture was little more than a handmaiden to the pastoral occupation, mining was not yet of any importance, while whaling, the colony's mainstay as far as exports were concerned up to the middle of the thirties, was rapidly declining in relative importance by about 1845, though it was still a great industry. Years afterwards men who remembered the forties, like "Rolle Boldrewood," wrote regretfully of the passing of that Arcadian age and the coming of the age of gold. By 1840 pastoral occupation had extended over a great part of what is now Victoria, over a large part of New South Wales, over a corner of the present Queensland, and a section of South Australia. By a curious paradox the pastoral industry in those days of scanty population employed much more labour in proportion to the size of the flocks than it does to-day. Fences were then almost unknown, except to surround cultivated land, and the sheep were shepherded in comparatively small flocks. It was considered that about 500 sheep were enough to be looked after by one shepherd, though sometimes two such flocks were run together. The sheep were folded at night, and sometimes a night watchman was employed who looked after several flocks. Now, when a run has been fenced and improved, one man can look after several thousands of sheep and extra labour is required only at shearing time and on a few other occasions in the year.

It has already been related how the earliest Governors

1831

*Land  
Grants  
and Sales.*

dealt with the land question and granted areas free or subject to a small quit-rent to those who would undertake to cultivate the land and employ convicts. Up to 1831, when the free grant system gave way to auction sales, 3,963,705 acres had thus been disposed of in New South Wales, or about a fiftieth part of the area of that State. In Van Diemen's Land the grants formed a larger proportion of the limited area of that island. In 1831 a complete change of policy was decided upon. No more land was to be granted, but Crown lands were to be sold at auction with a minimum price of 5s. an acre. In Van Diemen's Land, by the way, Governor Arthur did his best to counteract the decision by granting as much as possible before the new regulation came into force.

*The  
Squatters*

But by this time there was growing up a large body of stockowners who held land neither by grant nor purchase, but merely by occupation of the wastelands of the Crown. Early in the nineteenth century many persons, including both emancipists and runaway convicts, had squatted down on unoccupied land, where they built huts, cultivated patches of ground, and often acquired stock by the simple process of stealing them. Known as "squatters," these men were usually regarded with an unfriendly eye by the stockowners. Thus the Select Committee on the Police in 1835 said in its report:

"The nefarious practices of these men are greatly facilitated by the system of unauthorised occupation of Crown lands which now prevails. It appears that many convicts who become free by servitude or who hold tickets-of-leave take possession of Crown lands in remote districts and thus, screened from general observation, erect huts for their temporary purposes and become what is generally known as 'squatters.'"

Few words, by the way, have so quickly changed their meaning. Very soon after this the term was applied to those who held Crown lands under licence, and so became applicable to most of the leading stockowners of the country. In 1844 we find the Legislative Council of New South Wales formally thanking Mr. Francis Scott, M.P., for his "masterly exposition of the cause of the Australian squatters." The

squatters held their land under grazing licence, for which they paid £10 a year, in addition to which they paid a small amount for each head of stock grazed. Under Governor Bourke's regulations a squatter by paying £10 a year could hold as many runs as he liked. Much to the disgust of the squatters, Governor Gipps issued in 1844 regulations by which a separate licence must be taken out for each run held, and the area of the runs was limited. In a despatch Gipps stated that Benjamin Boyd, the chairman of a meeting of protest, held 3,810,000 acres of Crown land for an annual payment of £80, while under the old grant system the quit-rent would have been £3,175 a year. The four largest squatters in New South Wales had 7,750,640 acres. In one district, Liverpool Plains, eight persons, of whom W. C. Wentworth was one, held 1,747,840 acres under eight licences. Gipps was no enemy of the squatters, but he held, with reason, that they might well pay a rent more in proportion to their holdings. As a matter of fact he attempted to put into operation a plan by which the squatters would buy homestead blocks which would assure to them an eight years' lease of the rest of their runs.

After seven years the minimum upset price of land was raised from 5s. an acre to 12s. an acre in 1838. This was largely due to the agitation of those interested in South Australia, who could not expect to sell land at £1 an acre when in New South Wales, at Port Phillip, or in Van Diemen's Land, four acres could be bought for that sum. A further change was made in 1840. Lord John Russell sent out instructions that all lands should be sold at a uniform price of £1 an acre, except in the settled districts of New South Wales, where land was still to be offered at auction at 12s. Those who paid £5,120 were to be entitled to select 5,120 acres, or eight square miles, of land anywhere they pleased. Governor Gipps strongly protested against this instruction. He took it on himself to say that no special areas of 5,120 acres should be sold within five miles of Melbourne, Geelong, or Portland, the three chief towns of Port Phillip, and the regulation itself was soon afterwards rescinded.

1844  
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*Increases  
in Price of  
Land.*

1842

But before that eight such blocks had been taken. One purchaser, Henry Dendy, obtained for his £5,120 what is now the most populous suburb of Brighton, worth millions of pounds. Dendy himself did not, however, retain it long. Another buyer, James Atkinson, secured the site of the town of Port Fairy and the country round it.

*Sales by  
Auction.*

In 1842 the sale of wastelands was put on a new footing by the Crown Lands Sales Bill. Land was to be sold by auction with a minimum upset, but not a fixed, price of £1 an acre. It was to be divided into town, suburban, and country lots and the upset price for each class was to be fixed by the Government, but must not be less than £1 an acre. Half the land revenue was to be spent on promoting immigration, half on roads, bridges, buildings, and other works, including 15 per cent. earmarked for the support of the aborigines.

This system of disposing of land continued in force in all the Australian colonies (New Zealand was on a somewhat different footing) until the colonies obtained self-government, when they dealt with the land as they saw fit. In most cases they sold much land at a lower price. One curious feature of the restrictions of 1840 was that there was to be no reservation of minerals, except in the case of mines obviously of value. This might have had very important results in view of the gold discoveries of ten or eleven years later, but in most cases the regulation was not observed. In the forties it was vigorously contended in New South Wales that the minimum of £1 an acre was too high. It was certainly more than much of the land available was worth at that time. But on the whole the resulting restriction in the sale of land was probably a benefit to Australia. Had the price been much lower the aggregation of large estates would have gone further than was actually the case.

*Revenue  
from Crown  
Land.*

Governor Gipps had also trouble with his Legislative Council over the allocation of the revenue from the sale of land. One half was to go to immigration, the other to public works, but the Council held that it should dispose of the money. Gipps, on the other hand, held fast to the power,

and was backed by the British authorities. In 1846, Gipps, the last Governor of New South Wales who really governed, left the colony, to die a year later. In his last speech he made a claim that was fully justified and made a prophetic reference to a controversy which was soon to begin: "I have laboured to the best of my ability to advance the true interests of this land—interests which I most conscientiously believe must for ages yet to come be inseparably connected with those of the parent State."

1846

The late thirties and the forties were marked by a vigorous and finally effective movement against the system under which Australia had been settled. New South Wales began as a convict colony pure and simple; but with the increasing influx of free settlers in the twenties and the growing up of a large native-born free population, the convicts and emancipists were by about 1840 outnumbered by the free population. From one point of view the agitation against the transportation of convicts to Australia was the first democratic upheaval in Australia. The squatters as a class favoured transportation because it gave them cheap labour. Many employers held that to end transportation would ruin the colony. On the other hand, the free labourers and mechanics dreaded and disliked the competition of convicts. There was also, of course, a moral aspect of the agitation which was more important, or at least put more in the forefront. Stress was laid on this side of the question at a very early date in the United Kingdom. As early as 1832, to quote an outstanding instance, Archbishop Whately of Dublin had denounced transportation as a national sin, something which did not necessarily benefit the United Kingdom, and entailed curses on the colony to which the convict was sent.

*Agitation  
Against  
Trans-  
portation.*

In 1837 a Select Committee of the House of Commons which had Sir William Molesworth as chairman and included Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell amongst its members inquired into the whole question of transportation. The Committee, in its report framed in 1838, declared that the effect of transportation on the moral character of the colony was pernicious. It found that it was feared that the

1840

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stoppage of transportation would have bad material results. But in any case there would not be enough convicts to supply all the labour required. It was urged that free emigration should be encouraged. The Committee finally recommended:

“That transportation to New South Wales and to the settled districts of Van Diemen’s Land should be discontinued as soon as practicable.”

In May, 1840, an Order in Council was issued revoking existing orders as to the places to which convicts could be sent, and leaving Van Diemen’s Land and Norfolk Island as the only places in Australasia to which they could be transported. Lord John Russell stated that in August, 1840, transportation to Van Diemen’s Land would cease for ever.

*Van  
Diemen’s  
Land and  
Norfolk  
Island.*

The immediate results of the change were not happy. In New South Wales many landholders and other employers missed the supply of forced labour. In 1834, 4,000 persons signed a petition asking that transportation to New South Wales be continued. On the other hand, the whole stream of convicts was concentrated on Tasmania. For several years after 1840 convicts were poured into that unhappy island at the rate of 4,000 a year. By 1853, when transportation to Van Diemen’s Land ceased, the total number of convicts sent thither was 69,000, or about half the total number sent to Australia from 1788 to 1868. It was in these years that the blight of the convict system fell most heavily on Van Diemen’s Land. And in the fifties the ex-convicts from Van Diemen’s Land went in swarms to the Victorian goldfields.

In the earlier part of the forties Sir John Franklin was Governor. He encouraged learning and science, and made Hobart for a while the chief literary and scientific centre in Australia. But though he lacked neither courage nor firmness, his duties as a gaoler were distasteful to him. An iron system of discipline, with savage punishments, was necessary to maintain any semblance of order amongst the thousands of hardened and desperate men shut up in the great penal settlement of Port Arthur or herded together

in road gangs in different parts of the island. In spite of all restraints, crimes were common, and the state of the country disturbed and uneasy. Bushranging raised its head again, though not in so menacing a form as in the days of Brady.

Beneath the lowest deep of Port Arthur there was a deeper still, the settlement of Norfolk Island, the place of the "doubly-damned," the refuse and off-scourings of Van Diemen's Land. In sheer desperation they sometimes turned on their warders. In 1846 a revolt, led by ex-bushrangers, broke out on the island. Several constables were murdered before the soldiers overcame the convicts, of whom twelve were hanged. John Price, who had been police magistrate at Hobart, enforced order by the sternness and severity of his rule as Commandant.

While Van Diemen's Land was receiving far more convicts than it could absorb, there was a party in New South Wales, strong in influence if not in numbers, who still hankered after convict labour. They agreed with the stockowner who said, in advocating a revival of transportation: "I do not care to be ruined for virtue's sake." The British authorities now hit on a new expedient. Prisoners were to be kept on probation at Pentonville or elsewhere and then, if their conduct seemed satisfactory, sent to Australia with conditional pardons. They were free to go where they liked, provided they did not return to Great Britain until the term of their original sentence had expired. In 1844 the first shipment of "Pentonvillians" reached Melbourne. They were welcomed by many landholders, some of whom declared that if they could not have this labour, they would import "men free by servitude" from Van Diemen's Land. In spite of fierce protests from the opposite side, 1,727 of these exiles were landed at Melbourne between 1844 and 1849.

Proposals were put forward in 1846 for a renewal of transportation to New South Wales, and an attempt was made to found a new convict colony in tropical Australia. In that year W. E. Gladstone, then a Tory, was for a brief period in charge of colonial affairs. Gladstone knew something about the labour difficulty, for he was a sleeping partner in a Port Phillip station. He asked whether the

*Probation System.*

*The  
"Gladstone  
Colony."*

1846

Legislative Council of New South Wales would concur in "the modified and carefully regulated introduction" of convict labourers into New South Wales or into part of it. He quoted a despatch of Governor Gipps about the introduction of prisoners from Van Diemen's Land into Port Phillip. A committee of the Council favoured the idea, provided free immigrants were sent in equal numbers, but the Council rejected it.

The proposed "Gladstone" colony at Port Curtis in Queensland had a very brief history. In 1845 Lord Stanley announced that it was intended to create the new colony of North Australia with 26° south as its southern boundary. Gladstone gave instructions for the founding of a settlement, and early in January, 1847, Colonel Barney went to Port Curtis, over 300 miles north of Brisbane, to establish the settlement. By this time Gladstone was out of office, and his instructions were cancelled by his successor, Lord Grey. After a few months Barney and all his company returned to Sydney. Graziers were already beginning to push northward into the country behind Port Curtis, and in 1853 the town of Gladstone was founded at Port Curtis. But it was not a convict settlement, nor did the colony of North Australia ever come into being.

*Growing Excitement.*

As time went on, the feeling against the practice of transportation grew and hardened. In August, 1849, the ship *Randolph* reached Port Phillip with "exiles" on board, but so menacing were the language and demeanour of the inhabitants of Melbourne that C. J. Latrobe, the superintendent of the Port Phillip district, then a part of New South Wales, directed the captain to take his cargo to Sydney. There some of the convicts were sent away up country while the rest were sent by sea to Moreton Bay. Fierce protests were also aroused by the arrival of the ship *Hashemy* at Sydney with convicts.

*The Australasian League..*

In Van Diemen's Land, too, there was a growing feeling against the continuance of transportation. An association was formed which, in January, 1851, convened at Melbourne a conference of delegates from each colony (Port Phillip had by this time been separated from New South Wales).

1851

On February 1, 1851, the Australasian League was formed. Its members entered into a solemn engagement to employ no person arriving under sentence, and to support all who might suffer in the lawful promotion of the movement against transportation. The Australasian League was to some extent the forerunner of federation. It bound together in one body a large proportion of the inhabitants of New South Wales, Victoria, and Tasmania. It even adopted a common flag, and there is mention in a Launceston newspaper of the time of the arrival of a vessel under the flag of the Australasian League. A branch of the League was formed in South Australia in 1852, so that all the existing Australian colonies, with the exception of Western Australia, were represented.

The agitation was finally successful in 1852. The last vessel carrying convicts to Van Diemen's Land, the *St. Vincent*, left England on December 31, 1852. With her arrival the transportation of convicts to any part of Australia except Western Australia ceased. The penal settlement on Norfolk Island was broken up in 1855, and the remaining prisoners removed to Tasmania. The penal settlement of Tasman's Peninsula continued to exist till 1870 when it was closed, after having been for some time a kind of benevolent institution. Convicts continued to be sent to Western Australia until 1868, when transportation at last came to an end.

In the early days of the settlement practically all power was vested in the "Governor and Captain-General" of New South Wales. After 1823 the Governor had the assistance and advice of a nominated Legislative Council. In 1825 Van Diemen's Land became for practical purposes an independent colony. South Australia was established as a colony without any direct relations with New South Wales, and in 1842 a Council of seven members—three officials and four nominees—was set up to assist the Governor. Western Australia was also, after 1838, ruled by a Governor with the help of a Council of seven.

The founding of South Australia still left to New South Wales the whole of the eastern part of Australia and the *A Governor-General.*

1846

whole of the north as far west as the border of Western Australia. Moreover, the Governor of New South Wales still took precedence over the officers in charge of the other colonies. Indeed, the commission of Governor Fitzroy (1846–1855) specially set out that he was Governor-General of all Her Majesty's Australian possessions, including the colony of Western Australia. The same title was held by Sir William Denison, Governor of New South Wales from 1855 to 1861. The title had little real meaning, however, and after Denison's time ceased to exist.

*Elective Principle.*

The first step towards popular government in Australia was taken in 1842, when the Act for the Government of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land introduced the elective principle. It provided for a Legislative Council of thirty-six members, of whom twelve were to be nominated and twenty-four elected on a property franchise. Of the twenty-four elective members the rapidly growing district of Port Phillip was to return at least six. Even before this there had been an agitation at Port Phillip for separation from New South Wales. Representation in the Sydney Council by no means met the wishes of the Port Phillip settlers. It was a long and expensive journey to Sydney whether by land or by sailing vessel, and for this reason some of the earlier representatives were residents of Sydney. In 1848 the Melbourne electors made a mockery of the proceedings by choosing Earl Grey, the Colonial Secretary, as their representative, thus showing what value they placed on representation in the New South Wales Council.

*Separation of Victoria.*

The pressure for separation succeeded in 1850, when, by the Australian Colonies Government Act, the southern or Port Phillip district of New South Wales became a separate colony with the name of Victoria. The boundary separating Victoria from New South Wales was that set forth in the Act of 1842, a straight line drawn from Cape Howe to the nearest source of the River Murray and then the course of that river to the border of South Australia. The land regulations of 1840 had included in Port Phillip the large and fertile Riverina region, between the Murray and the Murrumbidgee, but the New South Wales Council had in the

meantime objected to the inclusion of this area in Port Phillip. Even now there is a feeling in Victoria that the Riverina should be included in the State. It would probably have been better for the Riverina, which belongs geographically to Victoria, but the boundary drawn in 1842 has held good to this day. The separation finally became effective on July 1, 1851.

The Act of 1850 did much more than separate Victoria *Self-Government.* from New South Wales. It gave the various colonies power to work out their own self-government. The Act was based on a report made in 1849 by the Committee of the Privy Council on trade and plantations. The Committee foresaw the tariff and other difficulties which would arise in time if each colony went its own way as a little independent nation. It proposed, therefore, a common tariff against overseas importations with absolute freedom of trade between the colonies. To deal with matters of general concern there was to be a House of Delegates in which all the colonies would be represented. This would deal with customs duties, postal affairs, roads, canals or railways common to two or more colonies, lighthouses, shipping dues, a general supreme court and its jurisdiction, and weights and measures. Provision for this measure of federation was made in the Act, but was struck out by the House of Lords, and half a century was to pass before the colonies were federated.

Apart from that the Act gave the colonies power to constitute legislatures, to fix the franchise, and generally to devise their own constitutions. Economic freedom was also given by the provision that the colonies could levy customs duties even on British goods.

New South Wales was the first colony to take advantage *Wentworth and the Constitution.* of the power to frame its own constitution. The leader in this work was the first and perhaps the greatest of Australian statesmen, William Charles Wentworth. With Wentworth as chairman, a committee of the Legislative Council drew up a constitution. It was a copy, as exact as conditions allowed, of the British constitution. Wentworth strove to make it more exact by including something in the nature of

1855

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a House of Lords. His report recommended that hereditary titles should be conferred by the Crown. The first patentees would be members of the Upper House. After their death the holders would elect certain of their number to form the Upper House. This proposal was rejected by the Council, so that the experiment of an hereditary aristocracy in Australia was never tried. The Council accepted a proposal that two changes in the constitution required the assent of two-thirds of the members in both Houses. This provision was, however, deleted by the House of Commons in 1855.

Wentworth was at one with the Committee on Trade and Plantations in recognising the need for some form of federation for the various colonies. In 1857 he drafted and sent to the Secretary for the Colonies a measure enabling any two or more colonies to enter into a federation. The Bill proposed was, however, never introduced.

Under the new constitution as finally adopted, New South Wales had a nominee Legislative Council and an elective Assembly with a low property franchise. The first Parliament under the new constitution met in May, 1856.

*The Other Colonies.* Victoria followed much the same lines except that the Legislative Council was not nominated, but elected on a restricted franchise. South Australia and Tasmania (the name assumed by Van Diemen's Land when the old order passed away) both entered upon responsible government in 1855. Western Australia, isolated from the other colonies with a scanty population in which convicts bulked largely till after 1868, remained a Crown colony until 1890.

## CHAPTER XVI

### THE GOLDEN AGE

THE year 1851 marks a turning-point in Australian history. — 1851 With the beginning of the gold-diggings in that year began a rush of population to Australia from overseas *Discoveries of Gold.* which far exceeded anything of the kind ever known before. The purely pastoral stage of development passed away for ever, although the pastoralist remained a power in the land. Within the next few years, too, the development of ocean steam navigation brought Australia far nearer, for all practical purposes, to the rest of the world.

That gold existed in Australia was known long before 1851. For many years there had been sporadic stories, some no doubt untrue, but many more or less correct, of the discovery of gold in various places. In the very early days convicts are said to have found traces of gold. In 1823 a surveyor came upon some specks at the Fish River near Bathurst. A Polish scientist, Strzelecki, found particles of gold in 1839 when on his way to Gippsland. In the forties an old shepherd named McGregor used to obtain gold in small quantities near Wellington Valley. In 1848 W. T. Smith sent to Sir Roderick Murchison in England a gold specimen from the western slopes of the Blue Mountains. In 1849 he produced a piece of gold in Sydney, but there was some suspicion in the minds of officials that he had obtained it from California. In the Port Phillip district, too, there were sporadic discoveries of gold. In 1849 a shepherd named Chapman sold to a jeweller in Melbourne a lump of quartz containing nearly twenty ounces of gold which he said he had obtained from the Pyrenees, in the west of the colony.

At this time the authorities did not encourage the idea

1848

*The Forty-niners.*

of seeking gold, fearing that it would draw away the labour required for other work and, in view of the large convict population, would lead to disorder and lawlessness. But events on the other side of the Pacific forced their hand. In 1848 a man from New South Wales named Marshall found gold at Sutter's Mill in California. In 1849 came the great rush to California, and Australia was powerfully affected. From Sydney and Hobart and Melbourne swarms of vessels crammed with eager gold-seekers sailed for San Francisco. Many of the Sydney "coves" or Sydney "ducks," as they were called in California, were ex-convicts whom Australia could well spare. They supplied some of the most reckless and daring of those criminals and gamblers who furnished material for the activities of the vigilantes in California—the first man hanged by the vigilantes in San Francisco was a Sydney "cove," John Jenkins. But many were of a different type. The drain was severely felt by the then small population of Australia, and men began to fear that the country would be ruined.

*Return of Hargreaves.*

Official opinion soon began to swing round to the view that the discovery of gold-fields in Australia, which would stop the migration to California, would be highly desirable. Amongst the Australian "forty-niners" was Edward H. Hargreaves, who had been a farmer near Bathurst in New South Wales. He had probably heard of the gold found by McGregor and others, and it struck him that the country in which the richest Californian diggings lay was very like that near Bathurst. Hargreaves returned to Australia, and in February, 1851, he found gold at Lewis Ponds and Summerhill Creek not far from Bathurst. He applied in April for a reward of £500, stating that for that he would reveal the locality and leave it to the authorities to decide whether any more should be given to him. Eventually he was granted £10,000. By May 19, 1851, there were 400 gold-diggers on Summerhill Creek and the number very soon increased to many thousands. It was the beginning of a series of rushes which almost equalled the stampede to California in 1848 and 1849.

From all parts of New South Wales men poured along

the roads to Ophir and the Turon. The road over the Blue Mountains was crowded from end to end with gold-seekers. The excitement soon spread to Victoria. Alarmed by the *Victorian Finds.* signs that a large proportion of the able-bodied men of Victoria would leave for New South Wales, a number of citizens of Melbourne offered £200 as a reward for the discovery of a gold-field within 200 miles of Melbourne. The fact that gold had been found near Clunes in 1850 was confirmed and gold was also found on Anderson's Creek and on the Plenty within twenty-five miles of Melbourne. Other discoveries were made, but with the discovery at Buninyong and Ballarat in September, 1851, of deposits richer than any yet revealed, Victoria leapt into the position of the golden colony. The glories of Ophir and the Turon grew pale indeed before those of Ballarat, Forest Creek, Mount Alexander, and Bendigo.

So great was the output of gold in Victoria that the recorded export reached 2,738,484 ounces in 1852 and 3,150,021 ounces in 1853. No doubt much was not recorded. It was easily won alluvial gold and digging was a gigantic gamble. So great was the attractive force of gold that in the years from 1852 to 1856 inclusive the population of Victoria was multiplied more than fourfold, rising to 336,957. And of the quarter of a million persons who poured into the colony in five years the vast majority were men, mostly young men.

The first flood of inrushing gold-diggers came from the *Floods of Diggers.* neighbouring colonies of Tasmania and of South Australia, especially the former. In many country districts in Tasmania almost all the able-bodied men went to the diggings. A contemporary states that in three years 45,884 persons left Tasmania for Victoria. Some must have been counted more than once. Many of these were ex-convicts or even men still under sentence of the law. The Van Demonians or "t'othersiders," as they were called, gained a bad reputation from the doings of the more reckless and desperate of their number. They furnished an undue proportion of the criminals who infested Victoria in the digging days.

The gold-fever was also felt strongly in South Australia.

1852

In January, 1852, gold-seekers for Victoria were crossing the Murray at the rate of over one hundred a day. Even Western Australia, remote and aloof from the eastern colonies, was affected, and Governor Fitzgerald reported: "I feel assured that one-half of the free population would quit the colony had they the means of paying their passage to Melbourne." Both in South Australia and in Tasmania it was soon found that supplying food and other necessities for the diggers was often more profitable than digging for gold.

Soon the Victorians who had gone to New South Wales returned and with them many diggers from the older colony. As the news spread overseas, a matter which took time when there were no cables and ocean steamships were in their infancy—Australians returned in thousands from California. With them came many Americans, some of whom had considerable influence on the development of Victoria. Swarms of gold-seekers poured in from the British Isles and from nearly every country in Europe. Asia, too, was moved and crowds of Chinese flocked to the diggings. As early as 1855 there were anti-Chinese riots on some of the fields. North and South America, Africa, and the islands of nearly every ocean all sent gold-seekers. The very names on some of the Victorian fields—California Gully, Canadian, the Frenchman's Reef—bear witness to the motley nature of the population.

*World's  
Richest  
Diggings.*

Nothing that the world has seen before or since has quite equalled the Victorian gold-digging. In the ten years 1851-1860 the diggings yielded 23,931,718 ounces of gold worth over £80,000,000. Some diggers made wonderful finds. The Welcome Stranger nugget, found at Dunolly, weighed 2,280 ounces. In one week-end at Ballarat ten miners took £10,000 worth of gold from a claim. It was no wonder that the plough rusted in the furrows, the sheep strayed without a shepherd, that seamen left their ships, shopkeepers their shops, officials and police their duties, to rush to the diggings. But thousands of diggers failed to make even a living. Prices on the fields soared to unheard of heights. Cartage from Melbourne to the fields

was anything from £30 a ton upwards. Flour was £80 a ton and other things in proportion.

Not unreasonably the Governments of both New South Wales and Victoria fought to secure by taxation a share of this sudden wealth to pay for the heavy expenses occasioned by the diggings. Fearful that the fairer method of export duty or a tax upon output would encourage smuggling and other evils, they charged each digger a licence fee, at first 30s. a month, reduced later to £1 a month or (in Victoria) £8 a year. This fell equally on the lucky digger who was making thousands and able to light his pipe with £5 notes and on the man who was not making wages. It was too often collected harshly and roughly by the police. This and other grievances led to trouble on the Victorian gold-fields, where thousands of foreigners, ex-convicts, and dissatisfied and rebellious men of all kinds were crowded together.

In November and December, 1854, there was rioting and open rebellion at Ballarat. The troubles elsewhere in Victoria and in New South Wales were less serious. But at Ballarat the passions of the crowd were inflamed by foreigners who hated authority. To some extent there was a faint echo of the European revolution and attempted revolutions of 1848. In October, 1854, a digger was killed in a scuffle outside a drinking shop, the Eureka Hotel, kept by an ex-convict from Van Diemen's Land, named Bentley. Bentley was arrested but discharged, and a mob, holding that the police magistrate was favouring Bentley, burnt the shanty down. Bentley was later arrested and found guilty of manslaughter, while the magistrate was dismissed from his office.

In spite of this, however, great discontent reigned amongst the Ballarat diggers. On November 29 the flag of insurrection was hoisted on Bakery Hill. The leaders were mostly Irishmen and foreigners. At the suggestion of a German named Vern the insurgent diggers burnt their licences. Peter Lalor, an Irishman, was commander-in-chief and his followers requisitioned horses, arms, and provisions in the name of the Committee of the Reform

1854

*Governments and  
the Miners.**The Eureka  
Stockade.*

1854

League. A stockaded camp, guarded by some 1,400 diggers, with a motley array of weapons, was established at Eureka, and there was talk of sending emissaries to invite the diggers in other fields to rise and establish a republic. At Eureka the "Republic of Victoria" was proclaimed, and a blue flag with the stars of the Southern Cross on it hoisted over the amateur fort. But the republic soon crashed.

*Storming  
of the  
Stockade.*

At half-past two o'clock on the morning of Sunday, December 2, Captain Thomas with 276 men, including police and detachments of the 13th and 40th Regiments, stormed the rebel camp. After a brief fight Thomas was completely successful. Thirty of the insurgents were killed on the spot, and 125 made prisoners. One soldier was killed and several, including Captain Wise, died later of their wounds.

So ended the one armed rebellion which has occurred on Australian soil since the early convict risings. Much nonsense has been written and talked about the fight for freedom at the Eureka Stockade, but it was really a poor affair. Without doubt, the honours of the day, from every point of view, were with Thomas and his force. There was a certain amount of agitation later at Ballarat, and also in Melbourne, but the supremacy of the law had been vindicated. Several of the rebels were brought to trial in Melbourne, but were, in the face of the evidence, acquitted by the juries.

By 1855 the Victorian diggings had begun to decline. There were new discoveries and new rushes, in the mountains of the north-east and east, and elsewhere, but nothing to equal the great days of Bendigo, Ballarat, and Mount Alexander. Mining became an organised business run by companies working with large capital, using expensive machinery, and the miners worked for wages instead of for their own hand.

*Other Gold  
Rushes.*

Gold rushes in New Zealand and Queensland in the sixties drew many of the diggers away from Victoria, but many thousands settled permanently in the colony. For many years Victoria retained the lead in population and in wealth which the gold discoveries had given it; but by the

end of the century New South Wales, with its larger area and greater natural resources, had begun to forge ahead again.

Rich gold deposits were discovered in Otago, in the south of New Zealand, in 1861, and for several years many thousands of diggers worked in the bleak upland valley of Otago, and the rain-drenched forests of Westland, a narrow strip between a storm-beaten coast and wild mountain ranges.

The tropical and semi-tropical regions of Queensland also drew many diggers. Later the gold fever abated until the discovery of fields of extraordinary richness in the arid interior of Western Australia, which drew many thousands of men from the eastern States to that hitherto neglected colony from 1892 onwards. From the "Golden Mile" of Kalgoorlie gold to the value of over £70,000,000 has been taken in a little over a quarter of a century. Proportionately the discovery of gold caused a revolution in Western Australia, perhaps even greater than that which took place in Victoria in the fifties.

Gold is far from being the only mineral in Australia. *Other Mineral Wealth.* Coal has been worked in the Newcastle district of New South Wales from the earliest days, and the fields of that State now produce about 10,000,000 tons a year, worth more than the present gold output of the whole continent. It was the finding of copper at Burra Burra in 1845 which pulled South Australia out of her first depression. Just over the border, in the dry and dusty west of New South Wales, the silver-lead deposits of Broken Hill have yielded wealth to the amount of over £60,000,000. The desolate western regions of Tasmania have yielded over £20,000,000 worth of copper and tin and brought population to a region that would otherwise long have remained empty. North Queensland has proved rich in copper and tin as well as in wolfram and other rare metals. The one thing most lacking up to 1921 was a discovery of oil.

One curious result of the gold discoveries was the revival *Revival of Bush-ranging.* of an evil considered by many as extinct—bushranging. The bushrangers were of a new type. In the earlier days,

1864

they were for the most part escaped convicts, though bankrupt officials or deserting soldiers sometimes took to the Bush. But the new bushrangers were mainly native-born, who took to the road either in a spirit of adventure or graduated to bushranging through horse and cattle stealing. The diggings provided great opportunities for bushrangers. There was plenty of traffic on the roads, and travellers were often worth robbing. Many districts in New South Wales were terrorised during the fifties and sixties by bands of armed bandits, well mounted and served by efficient "Bush telegraphs," who gave information of the movements of the police. Such were the brothers Clarke, who long controlled the Braidwood district. Frank Gardiner, nicknamed the "King of the Road," was at the head of a band which held up gold escorts and homesteads, and spread terror over a wide area beyond the Blue Mountains. Gardiner, after many adventures, went to Queensland, where he settled down quietly to keep a store, but was recognised and arrested in 1864. He was the only bushranger who brought about the fall of a Ministry. At his trial in Sydney he was sentenced to thirty-two years' imprisonment. After serving ten years he received a pardon on condition that he left the colony and went to California. Strong objections to the leniency shown in this particular case were raised in Parliament, and the Ministry which had recommended to the Governor this exercise of the prerogative was overthrown.

*Victorian Outbreaks.  
The Kelly Gang.*

Bushranging continued to flourish in New South Wales till 1867, when an Outlawry Act provided such temptation to informers and such sharp penalties for those who assisted bushrangers that the evil was eventually put down. In Victoria the position was somewhat different. The bushrangers who flourished in the digging days were for the most part ex-convicts from Tasmania. So bold did they become that a gang of five held up numerous passers-by at St. Kilda within three miles of the centre of Melbourne. Nor did they disdain a little piracy. A band of eight boarded the ship *Nelson* as she lay in the harbour and carried away gold to the value of many thousands of pounds.

An improved police force and the employment of officers from Tasmania, who knew the old "lags" and were accustomed to dealing with them, coupled with the removal of temptation as the great days of the diggings passed, led to the decline of bushranging in Victoria.

There was a curious recrudescence of it many years later, in the late seventies, when the "Kelly gang" long defied the police in the mountainous districts of north-eastern Victoria, shot policemen, plundered bankers, and kept the countryside in a state of alarm. This band of four cost the colony over £50,000 before they came to a spectacular end. They seized the hotel at Glenrowan and were besieged in it after their plot to destroy the special train bringing police had failed, owing to a timely warning. Three of the gang perished when the place caught fire, and their leader, Ned Kelly, who wore a strange kind of mediæval armour, made from ploughshares, was captured and hanged. So ended the last real bushrangers of Australia, though isolated cases of highway robbery continued to occur.

## CHAPTER XVII

### COMMUNICATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT

1840

*Sail and  
Steam.*

WHILE the discovery of gold had led to a rush of population to Australia and to a redistribution of the population within the area which made Victoria long the leading colony, other developments were bringing the continent into closer touch with the outside world. Australia's early history lay in the era of sailing ships—and of slow sailing ships. For long after the days of the First Fleet a four months' voyage from England to Australia was regarded as a speedy trip, and voyages of eight months and more were not unusual. But about 1840 the researches of the American Captain Maury and others showed that quicker passages out to Australia could be made by keeping well south, within the zone of strong westerly winds, after rounding the Cape of Good Hope. At the same time there was a wonderful advance in the art of building and rigging ships. It was nothing unusual for the clippers of the fifties and early sixties to run from England to Australia in less than seventy days. One vessel made the run from Liverpool to Melbourne under sail in sixty-one days. The *James Baines* in 1854 ran from Liverpool to Melbourne in sixty-three days, and made the return trip, by way of the Horn, in sixty-nine days or 132 days for the trip round the world.

Indeed, when steamships first began to ply between England and Australia they were by no means beyond rivalry in the matter of speed. The Peninsular and Oriental Company first entered the trade with steamers in 1856, when the sailing clippers were at their zenith. But the greater dependability and the continual improvement of steamers soon drove the sailing ships out of the passenger trade, and also a large part of the cargo trade. The opening of the Suez

Canal in 1869 gave a new and somewhat shorter route to Australia, and the time of the voyage was cut down till it was possible to deliver the mails in Adelaide in fewer than thirty days after leaving London. To achieve this result the mails were sent overland to an Italian or French port. Now the railway from Fremantle to Adelaide has rendered it possible to save three days at the Australian end. The opening of the Panama Canal in 1915 provided an alternative route to Europe, and brought New Zealand and the eastern ports of Australia several thousands of miles nearer to the eastern side of North America.

In 1919 Ross Smith and his companions opened a new era by flying from London to Australia in twenty-eight days, by way of Italy, Palestine, Mesopotamia, India, the Malay Peninsula, and Java, landing at Port Darwin.

Communication by cable with the outside world came *The Cables* later, when the carrying of mails, passengers, and cargo by *and the Overland Telegraph.* means of steam was introduced. South Australia provided the necessary land link. Charles Todd carried out what was for those days a wonderful work by carrying a telegraph line 1,970 miles long right across Australia from Adelaide to Darwin. An English company laid a cable to connect Darwin with the existing cable to Java, and in 1871 Australia was brought within a few hours, as far as cable messages are concerned, of London. This was a remarkable undertaking for a colony not forty years old. For the greater part of its length the line ran through an unsettled and almost unknown wilderness. Provisions, supplies, and material had to be dragged many hundreds of miles by bullock teams, horses, and camels. In the north, white ants ate the wooden poles, but Todd replaced them with iron ones.

The laying of the cable across the Pacific from Brisbane to Vancouver in 1902 gave a direct cable route to North America and an alternative route to Europe. The ownership of this cable is shared by Australia and New Zealand with Great Britain and Canada.

At the same time that the links between Australia and the outside world were being drawn closer, internal development

1850

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*Railway  
Con-  
struction.*

went on in many directions. In 1850 a beginning was made with the first railway in Australia, from Sydney to Goulburn. Victoria's first railway dates from 1854. With almost incredible stupidity, the railways of the colonies were built on different gauges. New South Wales at first adopted 5 feet 3 inches, but reversed its decision after Victoria and South Australia had fallen into line, at the instance of a new engineer. Later other parts of the Commonwealth fixed on a 3 feet 6 inch gauge. Thus began a confusion of gauges which still continues. It will now cost over £100,000,000 to put right what should never have been wrong. In 1921 a special commission recommended the gradual conversion of all the lines to the 4 feet 8½ inches gauge.

*Exploring  
the Interior.*

In these middle years of the nineteenth century pastoralists were pushing out further and further into the inland and northern regions of Australia. At the same time the systematic exploration of the continent was carried forward at the cost of much hardship, suffering, and in some cases loss of life. Even before his march round the Bight, Eyre had in 1839 explored the country towards Lake Torrens. In 1844 and 1845 Captain Charles Sturt, the hero of the first boat voyage down the Murray, attempted to reach the centre of the continent. From a study of the flight of migratory birds northward from the settled parts of South Australia Sturt concluded that there was a fertile country a little to the north of the Tropic of Capricorn. He tried to follow their route to this region, but he was unlucky. The summer was exceptionally dry and hot. Sturt pushed north by way of the Barrier Ranges, passing close to Broken Hill, afterwards to become one of the world's greatest silver mines, crossed Cooper's Creek, and reached within about 150 miles of the heart of the continent. There his way was blocked by Sturt's Stony Desert and he was forced to fall back on the Darling.

*Across  
Australia.*

The task which baffled Sturt was undertaken later by a member of his party, John MacDouall Stuart. In 1859 South Australia offered a reward of £2,000 to the first man who should cross Australia from south to north. At the

third attempt Stuart achieved the feat, reaching the Indian Ocean near Port Darwin. Stuart reported, with somewhat undue optimism, that he had passed through one of the finest countries that one could wish to see. The country towards the centre of Australia is certainly not nearly so hopeless as Sturt and other early explorers who saw it under unfavourable conditions imagined, but it is arid and difficult. In 1921 Francis Birtles flew the first aeroplane across the centre of Australia, following roughly Stuart's route.

About the same time that Sturt was seeking the centre of the continent, Ludwig Leichhardt, a German scientist, headed a party which traversed the country from Brisbane to Port Essington in the far north. In 1848 Leichhardt set out to cross the continent from the Darling Downs to Perth. He and all his followers vanished, and from that day to this the mystery of their disappearance has never been solved.

In 1861 Victoria, enriched with gold from the diggings, sent an elaborately equipped expedition, furnished with twenty-four camels specially imported from India, to explore the interior. It was led by Richard Burke, a police inspector with no special qualifications for his task, and W. J. Wills was second in command. Burke and Wills were the first to cross Australia from south to north, reaching the mouth of the Flinders River, where it flows into the Gulf of Carpentaria, on February 11, 1861, more than a year before Stuart arrived at Port Darwin. On the way back, owing to miscalculation and mismanagement, Burke, Wills, and other members of the expedition perished.

The exploration of the inland regions in the western half of Australia came a little later. In the very early days of the Swan River settlement some notable exploration work had been done by George Grey, Roe and others.

The arid and forbidding interior was explored by a series of daring adventurers of whom the most famous was John Forrest, who afterwards played a great part in the politics of Western Australia and later of the Commonwealth, and was just before his death the first Australian to be granted an hereditary title, that of Baron Forrest of Bunbury. No explorer showed greater determination and endurance

1875

than Ernest Giles, who in 1875 traversed, in a journey from Adelaide to Perth, some of the most hopeless country in Australia. The exploration and opening up of the arid interior was greatly facilitated by the introduction of camels, which took kindly to their new country. There are now some 10,000 of them in South Australia, Western Australia, and the far west of New South Wales and Queensland.

Apart from the professional explorers, some wonderful journeys were made by pastoralists, prospectors, and others. In the eighties the Duracks took cattle across Northern Australia from Queensland to the Kimberley region in the north of Western Australia, a journey which lasted nearly two years.

*Ill-Treatment of Aborigines.* The history of Australia is indeed largely the story of exploration and of the spread of settlers further and further into the interior. The great increase of population and of wealth brought about by the gold era accelerated this process. Roughly speaking, both explorers and settlers had to contend against only the forces of nature, the most dangerous of which was the drought of the arid interior. The scattered bands of natives never offered any organised and general resistance to the white invaders. Sometimes they speared cattle and sheep and stray white men, and occasionally attacked settlers' homesteads and massacred the inmates. The cruel and inhuman treatment of the aborigines by the lower types of white men by no means ended with the early days. In the sixties and later, Queensland enjoyed an evil pre-eminence in this respect. A native police force was organised and the black troopers were employed to hunt down their wild compatriots. It was not all explorers, too, who could say with Sturt that they had never been the cause of the death of a single aborigine.

*Sub-dividing the Continent.* Originally New South Wales nominally included the whole of Eastern Australia. For some years after the separation of Victoria it still took in all the north-east and north of the continent. But with the spread of settlement in the country round Moreton Bay and far to the northward another movement for separation gathered strength. In 1859 the country north of  $28^{\circ}$  and south as far as Cape York,

and westward to  $141^{\circ}$  east, with a population of nearly 30,000 and an area of over 500,000 square miles, was made an independent colony under the name of Queensland. According to the first Governor, Sir George Bowen, the new colony began with  $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the Treasury. Someone broke into the Treasury and stole the  $7\frac{1}{2}$ d., but Bowen borrowed money from the banks to carry on till the revenue came in.

The new colony had vast areas of rich pasture-land, including some of the finest cattle country in Australia, and fertile and well-watered agricultural tracts. The American Civil War of 1863–1865 made cotton-growing boom in Queensland, and later sugar-growing, carried on with the aid of Kanaka labourers from the South Sea Islands, flourished in the coastal areas.

The creation of Queensland left a great block of country between the 141st and 129th parallels of east latitude and extending from the north coast to the northern boundary of South Australia in  $26^{\circ}$  south, still nominally part of New South Wales, from which it was completely cut off. In 1862 Queensland secured a good slice of this, including much fine pastoral country, by persuading the British Government to move the colony's boundary westward from  $141^{\circ}$  to  $138^{\circ}$  S. It was suggested that Queensland should take over the whole of the region, but it was not prepared to undertake the financial responsibility. The reports of MacDouall Stuart about that part of the Northern Territory which he had traversed aroused great interest in South Australia, and in 1863 that colony was given control of the unappropriated region. After an initial attempt to found a settlement at Escape Cliffs, Port Darwin became the capital of the Territory, which prospered moderately under South Australia. Pastoralists occupied large areas with cattle, Chinese and European miners worked gold and other minerals, and there was a little pearling and collecting of trepang (sea-slugs) for the China market on the coast. A short railway was built. In 1911 the Territory, with its debt of £3,431,000, was taken over by the Commonwealth.

*The  
Northern  
Territory.*

With the separation of Queensland from New South Wales in 1859 and the taking over of the Northern Territory

1863

*Separatist Policies.*

by South Australia in 1863, the territorial divisions of Australia assumed the form which they retained till the coming of Federation in 1901.

For the forty years from 1861 to 1901 each colony went very much its own way. Subject to the far-off, lax and benevolent control of Downing Street, each was an independent State and followed out its own particularist line of policy without regard to the others. Sometimes, as in the case of the railways, this had permanently disastrous results. To-day the Victorian-South Australian frontier is the only State border at which there is not a break of gauge.

*Tariffs and Trade.*

The well-meant efforts of the British authorities to secure a uniform customs tariff and inter-colonial free trade never came to anything and each colony treated the others as foreign countries. Up till 1866 tariffs for revenue purposes only were the rule throughout Australia. In that year Victoria entered upon a policy of protection of local industries. The inauguration of this policy was mainly due to the energy and will-power of one man, David Syme, a Scotsman, who had in 1860 gained control of the *Age*, one of the two leading Melbourne newspapers. It was the most notable of the few instances in Australian history in which a newspaper led and moulded public opinion, instead of following it. The *Age* drove McCulloch, then Premier, and other politicians to swallow their expressed free trade opinions and to impose a measure of protection, after a fierce struggle with the Legislative Council, which was the organ of the squatters and merchants who were free traders. New South Wales maintained a revenue tariff policy. Protection undoubtedly fostered Victorian manufactures until the advent of inter-State free trade with Federation, when the natural advantages of New South Wales enabled her to forge gradually ahead.

*Land Legislation.*

The land question was one which raised difficulties sooner or later in nearly all the colonies. Before the great increase in population brought about by the gold-diggings there was land and to spare for the scanty population. But as the alluvial diggers were forced to look elsewhere for a livelihood, the cry of "Unlock the lands" was

raised both in Victoria and in New South Wales. By this time much of the best and most accessible land was held in large areas by squatters who used it mainly as pasture-lands. In both colonies attempts were made to settle a hardy yeomanry on the soil by Act of Parliament. This was the purpose of Sir John Robertson's policy of "free selection before survey" in New South Wales, and of Sir Charles Gavan Duffy's Land Act in Victoria. In practice the results were not always those hoped for. Many selections were taken up, not as a home for the settler, but as a means of levying blackmail on the squatter who leased the surrounding land from the Crown. Selectors would take a block, cutting off the squatter's stock from water, and then sell out for the highest price that they could screw out of the squatter. In many cases the last state of things was worse than the first; as the result of the buying out of selectors and of "dummying," or the putting up by the squatters of nominees of their own relatives or employees to take up selections the legislation aided instead of retarding the building up of large estates.

It is a curious fact that "advanced" democrats in Australia have always tended to regard the large landholder with much greater disfavour than the man with a possibly much larger capital invested in manufacturing enterprises and in business. In nearly all the States and in New Zealand various measures have been taken in recent years to "burst up" large estates either by compulsion or persuasion. Taxation has been pressed into the service, and in recent years the Commonwealth Parliament, when the Labour Party was in power, imposed a special tax on all holders of land on the unimproved value of £5,000 or over. That this has led to the subdivision of many large estates there is no doubt; it has also led to a good deal of evasion and subterfuge.

In the various colonies there was an advance along the lines of democracy which ended in giving every adult one vote, and one only, for the election of members of the Lower House of the State Legislature. In the case of the Upper House, New South Wales and Queensland retained the

*Growth of Democracy.*

system of a nominee house, and in the other colonies the franchise was limited. The system of voting by secret ballot was first introduced in Victoria and has been widely adopted in other parts of the world.

In more than one instance a nominee council has proved far more amenable to the wishes of the party in power in the popular house than an elective council would be. The reason is that the Ministry can control a nominee house by nominating additional members until it has a majority. A case in point occurred in New South Wales in 1861. The Ministry had introduced the Land Bill embodying the principle of free selection before survey. The Legislative Council, in which the squatting element was strong, was against the Bill in as far as it gave the selector power to take land already leased. Charles Cowper, the Premier, advised the Governor to nominate twenty-one new members in order to secure a majority. When the members presented themselves to be sworn in, the President resigned, and walked out followed by most of the members. The new House, which nominated a little later, passed the Bill.

*Political  
Pioneers.*

The political development of the various colonies offers many other points of constitutional interest; but a few developments in which Australia showed the way to other parts of the world are all that need be mentioned here. Amongst those who came to the front in politics, including such men as Sir Henry Parkes, in New South Wales, and Graham Berry in Victoria, were many advanced Radicals who had been connected with, or influenced by, the Chartist movement in Great Britain. The Chartist objective of voting by secret ballot at elections, instead of the old method of open voting at the hustings, was first put into practice in Victoria, where the principle was adopted in 1855. It spread to the other States, and years later was adopted in Great Britain, the United States, and elsewhere. Other Chartist "points" first carried into effect in Australia were "one man one vote" for the popular branches of the Legislature, and the doubtful blessing of payment of members. More recently the suffrage has been extended to "one adult one vote." Women were first enfranchised in New

Zealand in 1893; in South Australia they attained the vote 1893 in 1894.

South Australia led the way in a reform of the methods of *Torrens Title*. land transfer, which has been copied in the other States and beyond Australia. This is the principle of the "Torrens Title," so named from its originator, Robert Torrens. The effect was to do away with all the long-winded title-deeds of the old system, in favour of a simple form of registration of the owners of property.

It was not till towards the close of the nineteenth century *Labour and Politics.* that organisations of labour acquired any great strength or influence in Australia. In the early days the bulk of the labour was supplied by convicts. It was not till the great revolution due to the gold discovery that trade unions came into existence on any scale worth considering. Then began the agitation for an eight hours' day, an objective long since attained in most trades and passed in some. It was not till 1890 that the strike weapon was used on any large scale in Australia. In that year a maritime strike, beginning from trivial causes, spread till it affected almost the whole continent. In particular, the shearers' union was involved, and the struggle was marked by great bitterness. Free labourers were assaulted and intimidated. At one Queensland station an attempt was made to poison with strychnine fifty men, one of whom died. A steamer laden with wool shorn by free labour was burned on the Darling River. In the end, however, the strike collapsed for lack of funds. The chief result was that the unions turned to political action, hoping to make good there their loss in the industrial field. Hitherto there had been no Labour Party as such in Australian politics. In New Zealand the Labour Party never did attain to any great importance, mainly because the so-called Liberal Party, under the leadership of Richard Seddon and others, stole its thunder and initiated very advanced legislation for breaking up large estates, regulating wages and the hours of labour, and introducing a mild form of State socialism.

Somewhat the same principle applies in the case of Victoria. As early as 1885 a system of wages boards, consisting of an

1885

*Wages  
Boards and  
Arbitration.*

equal number of employers and employed, with an independent chairman, was set up in various industries. Primarily designed to prevent "sweating" and the exploitation of labour, it grew into a means of regulating wages and conditions of labour generally. It is more than a coincidence that Victoria is the only State that has never, for any time worth speaking of, had a Labour Government. At a later date the Commonwealth and several of the States set up as an alternative to, or in competition with, the wages board system Arbitration Courts, with a judge to regulate hours and conditions of labour. It cannot be said that either device has been successful in preventing strikes, which have been far more numerous and serious than in the days when neither system existed.

*Education  
and Uni-  
versities.*

The early governors interested themselves in the question of education; but then and for long afterwards a large part of the population, especially in the remoter districts, received no school education whatever. To what extent this was a calamity is a debatable point. But in any case the later tendency has been towards the State trying to provide for every child free, compulsory, and, in some States, secular education.

The true founder of University education in Australia was that remarkable man W. C. Wentworth, the first Australian statesman. As a result of his efforts, the University of Sydney, still the greatest of Australasian Universities, was opened in 1852. Melbourne followed next year, and with the opening of the University of Western Australia, in 1912, each of the States and New Zealand had been provided with a University. In New South Wales particularly wealthy men have honourably distinguished themselves by bequests and donations to the University, culminating in over £500,000 left to the University of Sydney by Sir Samuel McCaughey. Remarkably good work has been done by graduates of Australian Universities, but it must be admitted there is a lack of serious intellectual interests in the community generally, where such things tend to be obscured by sport and the pursuit of pleasure.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### AUSTRALIA AND THE PACIFIC

THROUGHOUT the nineteenth century Australia's concern in foreign affairs was of the most spasmodic and intermittent kind. It was not till the last quarter of the century that any sustained interest was shown even in the fate of the nearer islands of the Pacific. As early as 1848 Sir George Grey, then Governor of New Zealand, had suggested a "Pacific Confederation," including the southern islands of the Pacific. But he was far in advance of his time. Five years later, however, came the first instance of foreign entry into the region of the east and north-east to Australia. In that year France annexed New Caledonia, which she later used as a penal settlement. A certain amount of trouble and annoyance was caused by the escape to Australia of occasional convicts from that settlement, but in 1898 France ceased to transport convicts to New Caledonia.

From time to time representations in favour of British action in the Pacific came from Australia; but they lacked persistence, and were simply spasmodic efforts by individual colonies. As early as 1867 New South Wales urged that, in view of the increasing traffic through Torres Strait, New Guinea should be occupied; but nothing came of this, or of similar representations about the New Hebrides and other island groups. Great Britain was reluctant to undertake fresh responsibilities in the Pacific, and it was only after several refusals that Fiji was taken over in 1874. As to the New Hebrides, a condominium or joint protectorate by Great Britain and France was set up in 1887. This modern adaptation of the two Kings of Brentford has not worked well, but it still persists.

1848

*New  
Caledonia.*

*Spasmodic  
Interest.*

1873

Just as the Duke of Wellington had said long before that Great Britain had "colonies enough," so Lord Derby New Guinea. remarked, when the question of annexing the eastern part of New Guinea (the western being reckoned a Dutch possession) began to be seriously agitated in the seventies, that Great Britain had already black subjects enough. This feeling was then held by some in Australia itself. In 1873 Captain Moresby, a British naval officer, hoisted the British flag at Port Moresby and formally took possession of Eastern New Guinea; but his action went the way of earlier acts of the same kind. In 1875 the Queensland Parliament urged annexation. The Imperial authorities stated in reply that the colonies would have to pay for governing any territory annexed, a reply which acted as a damper for a time. The discovery of gold in South-eastern New Guinea, and the rush of diggers from Australia, introduced a new element into the question; but no definite action was taken, partly because the gold deposits were not rich enough to attract any very large number of diggers.

*Germany  
Intervenes.*

It was the report of the coming entry of Germany into the Pacific in general, and New Guinea in particular, which precipitated action. In April, 1883, Sir Thomas McIlwraith, then Premier of Queensland, sent the magistrate at Thursday Island to take possession of "so much of New Guinea as was not already a Dutch possession." Lord Derby, on behalf of the British Government, repudiated McIlwraith's action and stated that there was no foundation for the fear that "some foreign power was about to establish itself in New Guinea." As a matter of fact, he was wrong. In 1884 Germany annexed the north-eastern corner of New Guinea, as well as New Britain and other adjacent islands. The other colonies had previously agreed to co-operate with Queensland in defraying the expenses of administration, but they now had to be content with annexing the south-eastern part of the island, known as the territory of Papua, with an area of about 90,000 square miles. It was at a convention in 1883, in connection with the New Guinea matter, that the colonies urged that no foreign power should be allowed to acquire fresh territory in the Pacific south of the Equator. The British

authorities, however, would have nothing to do with this "Monroe doctrine" for the South Pacific.

1883

Queensland had an interest in the Pacific Islands from another point of view, as a recruiting ground for labour. As early as the forties, Polynesians, or Kanakas, as they were called, were brought to New South Wales and employed as shepherds by, amongst others, Ben Boyd, one of the leading squatters of the day. It is recorded that when Boyd disappeared on a voyage in the Pacific, some of the Kanakas on his stations caused excitement by coming to Sydney clad only in shirts. A little later Kanakas were brought to Queensland in considerable numbers to work in the fields. During the American Civil War of the sixties, cotton-growing became profitable in Queensland; and though cotton soon ceased to be grown in any quantity, the production of cane sugar became firmly established in the coastal districts of Queensland. The demand for labour increased till over 10,000 South Sea Islanders were employed in Queensland. In the earlier days they were often practically kidnapped by the masters of the recruiting vessels, known as "black-birders," and worked under conditions little different from slavery. All sorts of devices were used. Thus one black-birder pretended that he was the missionary bishop Patteson and entrapped a large number of young men. When the real bishop arrived a little later the enraged natives not unnaturally fell on him and killed him. The Queensland Government interfered to put recruiting and the treatment of the Kanakas in Queensland on a better basis. Finally, in 1902, the Commonwealth decided to prevent the importation of Kanakas and later enforced the deportation and repatriation of those already in Queensland.

*Kanaka Labourers.*

## CHAPTER XIX

### FEDERATION

1869

*Movement  
Towards  
Union.*

WHILE the efforts to secure the whole of Australia as a British possession were successful, the early attempts of the British authorities to give Australia some kind of Federal union came to nothing, as already mentioned. The separate policy prevailed, but towards the end of the century there began a movement towards union. Except in the case of Tasmania, which is an island, and of the boundary between New South Wales and Victoria, the intercolonial boundaries were almost entirely mere lines of latitude and longitude. There were no barriers of race or language, and the introduction of railways and telegraphs and the improvement of the means of communication generally tended to draw the various colonies closer together. Australia's isolation from the outer world, too, had been greatly lessened by the use of steam. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 gave a short route to Australia from England and Europe, while the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914 brought Eastern Australia and New Zealand closer to Eastern America.

*The  
Federal  
Council.*

All these things tended to bring the colonies closer together. In the eighties, after an experiment in dealing with matters of common interest by means of intercolonial conferences, a Federal Council was, in 1886, established for that purpose. Even in earlier days there were Australians who saw the need for some form of federation. Practical proposals to that end were put forward by that great statesman, W. C. Wentworth. In July, 1853, he persuaded the New South Wales Legislature to declare that the formation of an Australian General Assembly was indispensable and should be no longer delayed. In 1857 Wentworth urged the Colonial Office in London to take action.

But a new Pharaoh who knew not Joseph had arisen in Mr. Labouchere as Colonial Secretary. Though Wentworth actually drafted a Bill, nothing was done. Many difficulties, such as conflicting tariffs, which delayed the accomplishment of federation nearly half a century later, had not arisen then.

Under the Bill passed by the Imperial Parliament in 1885 the six colonies, with New Zealand and Fiji, were given power to send two representatives each to such a Council. New Zealand did not come in and Fiji sent only to the first meeting. Nearer home, New South Wales, or its politicians, decided to stand out. In any case the Federal Council, which met every two years, was an academic sort of body. It could give the various colonies good advice but it could not make them take it. Sir Henry Parkes, then the leading politician in New South Wales and a picturesque figure, gave as his reason for neglecting the Federal Council, which he had himself suggested earlier, that it would impede the way to a solid federation.

Whatever was his real reason, he brought together in 1890 *Convention Called.* a conference of ministers which paved the way for the first Federal Convention in the following year. This prepared a draft constitution; but the New South Wales Parliament declined to have anything to do with the constitution thus prepared and the Federation movement languished for several years. The impulse next time came from below rather than from above, from the people, or part of them, and not from the politicians. Leagues and organisations to work for federation were formed in the various colonies, and the Australian Natives Association, a body composed entirely of native-born Australians, was particularly active in Victoria.

A convention in which each of the States except Queensland was represented by ten delegates elected (save in the case of Western Australia, where the Parliament made the choice) by the people met in 1897 and 1898. It drafted the Federal Constitution, which was, in essence, the one adopted for the Commonwealth of Australia. The Constitution *Framing of the Constitution.*

1897-8

thus framed dealt tenderly with the rights of the States. At this time the only Federation within the British Empire was that of Canada, brought about in 1867. There the provinces were subordinate to the central Government and all rights not expressly reserved to the provinces were held to be transferred to the Dominion. Australia followed rather the model of the United States, and all powers not expressly transferred to the Commonwealth were reserved to the States. With the object of protecting the States, especially the smaller ones, it was decided that one House of the Federal Parliament, the Senate, should consist of six members from each State, whether large or small. In practice the Senate has been mostly dominated, like the House of Representatives, by party considerations. The members of the Representatives are elected roughly on a population basis. The Convention set up a High Court of seven judges as the final authority in interpreting the constitution, and provision was made for a Governor-General representing the Crown.

*Restriction  
of Powers.*

The powers entrusted to the Commonwealth included defence, postal matters, navigation, customs and excise, quarantine, external affairs, and a number of others. In regard to some of them, such as marriage and divorce and insurance, the Commonwealth has not yet exercised its powers. On the other hand, attempts have been made on several occasions to extend the powers of the Commonwealth at the expense of the States, especially in regard to the control of trade and commerce and of industrial questions; but so far without success. There has, however, been a growing feeling that increased power should be given to the Commonwealth.

*Fight for  
Federation.*

The Convention had framed a constitution, but the Federal movement was not yet out of the wood. There were over two years of conflict and intrigue before the Commonwealth came into existence. Before New South Wales would come into the Federation it insisted on amendments, one of which provided that the permanent capital of the Commonwealth must be in New South Wales, though not within 100 miles of Sydney. Western Australia, too,

1901

persisted in keeping aloof till it secured special financial terms and an informal assurance that the Commonwealth would build a railway to connect it with the eastern States. Eventually the constitution was approved by popular referendums in all the States. New Zealand, separated from Australia by over 1,000 miles of sea and with different interests, steadily declined to come into the Federation. The original Bill provided not only that the High Court should be the final authority on the interpretation of the constitution, but that the Federal Parliament should be able to limit the questions of law, apart from this, on which appeals might be made to the Privy Council. The Imperial authorities objected to this and the Bill was altered. With this amendment it was passed by the British Parliament. The Commonwealth came into existence on January 1, 1901, thus realising the idea of "a nation for a continent and a continent for a nation." On May 9 of that year King George V., then Duke of York, opened the first Federal Parliament at Melbourne.

The Commonwealth began its existence with a Ministry *Machine Politics.* led by Edmund Barton which was protectionist in policy. The opposition, led by G. H. Reid, contended for the New South Wales ideal of a revenue tariff. There was also a third party, a Labour group of twenty-four, led by J. C. Watson, which gained an influence out of proportion to its numerical strength by holding the balance between the two main parties. It was the Labour Party which first made complete use of the weapon of party discipline and solidarity. Until the other parties learned the lesson of party "machine politics," which they did before many years were over, it had a great advantage.

The Labour Party was with Barton in his "White Australia" policy. Both on economic and on social grounds it *Restricting Immigration.* objected to the introduction of cheap coloured labour into Australia. One of the early measures of the Federal Parliament was an Immigration Restriction Act. This did not discriminate against coloured immigrants as such, but provided for an "education test." Any immigrant, of whatever race, might be requested to write fifty words

1901

in any prescribed European language. The officials could thus prescribe a language unknown to the intending immigrant. For instance, a Dutchman who knew seven European languages was given fifty words in Gaelic. In practice the measure has been used mainly to block the entry of coloured immigrants. Not only did the Barton Government set itself to prevent coloured men from coming; it also set itself to drive out some of those already in the Commonwealth. The Kanakas in Queensland were employed almost wholly on the sugar plantations. A heavy duty was imposed on imported sugar and a substantial bounty granted to those who grew sugar with white labour. This did not extinguish the sugar industry, as many predicted, but it certainly became a sore subject with many consumers of sugar, who alleged that they were heavily taxed to bolster up the industry.

*Labour and  
Anti-  
Labour.*

The second Prime Minister of the Commonwealth was Alfred Deakin, a silver-tongued Victorian orator, who leant on the Labour Party for support till it rejected him and formed a Ministry of its own. Then followed a confused period of rapid changes and unstable political combinations, until in 1909 the two anti-Labour groups fused under Deakin and Joseph Cook. The latter had succeeded Reid when he was sent away to London to a dignified retirement as Australian High Commissioner. At the general election of 1910, however, Labour secured a majority over the Fusion and came into power under Andrew Fisher, a cautious and phlegmatic Scotsman. After a short interval, during which the party led by Cook held office, the Labour Party, led by Fisher, was again returned to power in 1914 and assumed office a few days after the outbreak of war with Germany.

*Forces for  
Overseas.*

The outbreak of war marked the beginning of a new period in the history of Australia, for she was brought directly into the current of world affairs. It may be briefly noted, before dealing with certain events between 1901 and 1914, that as early as 1885 New South Wales had sent a contingent to the Soudan. They arrived too late to see service, but the spirit was the same. In the South African

war of 1899-1901 contingents from all the States and from New Zealand went to South Africa, where they played an important part.

When the Commonwealth came into existence in 1901 it had a name but no local habitation. The Parliament and officers of the Government were housed in Melbourne, but there was no Federal territory. After much search for a Federal capital, Dalgety on the Snowy River in the far south of New South Wales, a beautifully situated but remote spot, was selected. But many persons in New South Wales objected to the site, and after much log-rolling and intrigue Canberra, on a bare, wind-swept table land nearer to Sydney, was finally chosen in 1908. New South Wales made over to the Commonwealth 900 square miles of the plateau with a "corridor" leading to Jervis Bay, where two square miles, a quite inadequate area, was set aside for a Commonwealth port and naval station. After all this had been done the Federal Government went on very complacently using Melbourne as the capital of Australia. About £1,000,000 had indeed been spent at Canberra when the outbreak of war led to the suspension of the work. In 1920 a mild attempt was made to resume the capital-building, but at a very leisurely pace.

In 1905 the Commonwealth added to its territorial possessions by taking over Papua, or the south-eastern portion of New Guinea, which had been governed by Queensland since its annexation. A bolder experiment was tried in 1910, when the Commonwealth acquired from South Australia the 523,000 square miles of the Northern Territory with its 150 miles of railway and a debt of about £3,000,000. In return the Commonwealth undertook to build a railway across Australia linking up the Territory with South Australia. In 1921 inquiries were being made about the route of the railway, but there is no likelihood of its being built for some time to come.

The Fisher Government sent to the Territory a large staff of officials headed by Dr. Gilruth, a veterinary professor from the Melbourne University. It entered on the wildly impracticable project of promoting closer settlement

1901

*Search for a Capital.*

*New Territories.*

*Failure and Deportation.*

1917

and agriculture in this remote, isolated, and on the whole poor region. This and other experiments proved costly failures. In 1917 the inhabitants rose against Dr. Gilruth, who was eventually forced to leave. In October, 1919, occurred a still more striking episode. Dissatisfied with Mr. Carey, the Director, who had succeeded Dr. Gilruth, the Unionists of Darwin deported him along with Judge Bevan and the Government Secretary, Mr. Evans, placing them on a steamer leaving for Western Australia. Mr. Carey's chief offence seems to have been that he could not secure for the democrats of Darwin all that they demanded from the Federal Government.

Under Commonwealth rule the population of the Territory, exclusive of aborigines, had decreased, till in 1921 it amounted to under 3,000 (including Chinese and other Asiatics), or less than one person to 170 square miles. There were also a considerable number of aborigines, variously estimated as from 20,000 to 50,000. Such industries as the Territory had, apart from cattle-rearing on huge stations, where the work is largely done by aborigines, were extinct or languishing. One of the main grievances of the inhabitants was that they had no representation in the Federal Parliament, and on the principle of no taxation without representation they steadily refused to pay the Federal income tax. Taken altogether, the government of the Territory by the Commonwealth has been decidedly of the comic opera order. The performance, though amusing, has been very expensive.

Norfolk  
Island.

As a matter of curiosity it may be mentioned that the tiny Norfolk Island, first settled in 1788, was transferred to the Commonwealth of New South Wales in 1914. Of the 800 inhabitants many are descended from the mutineers of the *Bounty* who settled on Pitcairn Island. These Pitcairners were transferred to Norfolk Island in the fifties.

It was proposed in 1919 that the Commonwealth should also acquire from Tasmania the remote Macquarie Island, the breeding ground for penguins and countless other birds and sea-elephants from a vast area of sub-Antarctic seas. But Tasmania, which had leased the island for £40 a year to

a syndicate engaged in killing sea-elephants and penguins for their oil, demanded £14,000 for the island, and the deal was off.

1917

Luckier than South Australia, West Australia obtained her transcontinental railway in 1917, when the 1,063 miles from Kalgoorlie to Port Augusta, which had cost about £7,000,000, were opened for traffic. The building of the line through 800 miles of country utterly without inhabitants, except a few wretched wandering savages, and almost destitute of water-supplies, was a notable achievement.

*East-West Railway.*

Defence was perhaps the most important matter transferred from the States to the Commonwealth. Up to 1901 each of the States had its own tiny army, while some had a gunboat or two, besides contributing towards the cost of the Australasian squadron maintained by the British Navy. In the early days of Federation an agreement was arrived at by which Australia contributed £200,000 a year towards the cost of the squadron, but even thus early there was an agitation for an Australian Navy. This bore fruit in 1909, when Australia intimated at an Imperial Defence Conference that she desired to build up a local navy. The British Admiralty co-operated and lent the services of Admiral Sir Reginald Henderson, whose report, made in 1911, was the foundation of the Commonwealth's scheme. The flagship, the *Australia*, a battle-cruiser, was completed in 1911, and two smaller cruisers, the *Sydney* and the *Melbourne*, arrived in the same year. It was provided that on the outbreak of war the Australian Navy should automatically fall under the control of the British Admiralty, and this accordingly took place in 1914. In this, as in other matters, New Zealand followed a line of her own, continuing the policy of contributing to the British Navy.

*Land and Sea Defence.*

With regard to land forces, Australia was the first part of the British Empire to adopt compulsory military service; but it was in the first instance applied only to those too young to have votes. In 1909 the Deakin Ministry passed a Bill for universal training of cadets and for the establishment of a military college at Duntroon for the training of

*Compulsory Training.*

1910

officers. It went out of office before the measure could be put into effect, but the principle was adopted by the Labour Ministry which succeeded in 1910. In more recent days a section of the Labour Party has repudiated compulsory training as tending to promote militarism, but it may be doubted if there was any great weight of popular opinion behind the demand for its abolition.

## CHAPTER XX

### THE WAR AGAINST GERMANY

THE outbreak of war with Germany was the first serious strain placed on the relations of Australia with Great Britain. 1914  
Australia had become a British possession without a struggle, and had never been concerned in warfare on any great scale, its most serious participation being the part taken in the South African War. In the earlier part of the nineteenth century, and for long after the middle of the century, there was a strong school of political opinion in England, influenced largely by the loss of the United States, which held that colonies were like fruit, and would drop off the parent tree as soon as they were ripe. They resigned themselves to what they considered to be inevitable, and argued that the mother-country would be better off without them. In Australia there were not lacking, from the time of Dr. Lang onwards, those who held that Australia would in no long time become completely independent. Even a Minister of the Crown in Victoria was not ashamed to argue that, if Great Britain were involved in war, Australia should declare herself neutral. There was, therefore, some slight foundation for the beliefs of those German writers who prophesied that on the outbreak of a really serious war Australia would cut loose from Great Britain.

Blood will tell, however, and Australia and New Zealand are the most solidly British in blood of all the overseas Dominions. Over 95 per cent. of the population are British or Irish by birth or descent. And from the beginning there was never any doubt that Australia and New Zealand would throw in their lot with Great Britain, and put all their strength into the scale. Their first task was to occupy the German possessions in the Pacific.

1914

*Sea Power  
and Land  
Strength.*

When Great Britain, on August 4, 1914, declared war against Germany, Australia and New Zealand followed suit as soon as the cable messages reached them. The action of the Governments in ranging themselves beside Great Britain met with almost universal approval amongst the people. But while the war found Great Britain with a mere expeditionary force by way of army, which forced her to improvise her vast fighting forces as she went along, the Dominions were in still worse case. Britain had her navy ready to the last button. Australia had the battle-cruiser *Australia* and the light cruisers *Melbourne* and *Sydney*, and that was about all. New Zealand had no ships-of-war, and neither New Zealand nor Australia had more than the tiniest nucleus of an army. But forces were soon raised. There were more volunteers than the authorities could well deal with, and within a little more than a fortnight troops were on their way to occupy the German possessions in the Pacific. All the German vessels in Australian and New Zealand ports were seized. The first shot fired by Australia in the war was on August 5, when a German merchantman, the *Pfalz*, which had been lying in Port Phillip, attempted to run to sea, and a shot was fired from the battery to bring her to.

Germany had at this time two cruisers, the *Scharnhorst* and the *Gneisenau*, in the Pacific. That they did not attempt any raid on some of the practically undefended seaport cities of Australia or New Zealand was doubtless due to the presence in those waters of the battle-cruiser *Australia*. Instead, they crossed the Pacific to help destroy British ships-of-war off Coronel, and to meet their fate in the Battle of the Falkland Islands.

But the *Australia* played more than a passive part in the matter. On August 30 she appeared off German Samoa, and the Germans there promptly surrendered. A few days later Australian troops occupied Rabaul, the capital of German New Guinea, and the adjacent German centres were taken over with little difficulty; and within a few weeks of the declaration of war the German colonies in the Pacific, the work of thirty years to acquire and to build up, had passed completely out of German hands. Had the Admiral

*Things  
Done and  
One Left  
Undone.*

1914

in command been less cautious, the whole of them might perhaps have been occupied by Australasians. But the German islands north of the Equator, the Marshalls, the Calorines (with Yap), and others, fell to Japan.

So far the Australasian share in the war had been a procession. The forces that went to German New Guinea suffered far more from mosquitoes and malaria than from any other foe. But the sterner realities of war were to come soon enough. Men were being trained in camps hastily established throughout Australia and New Zealand; equipment was being made, and shipping gathered for transport work. In October, 1914, the first convoy of Australasian troops for the Old World sailed for Egypt, where their training was to be completed. The gathering-place of the transports was at Albany in Western Australia, and then, escorted by Australian and Japanese cruisers, they set out to cross the Indian Ocean.

It was then that an Australian cruiser first saw action. "Sydney"-  
The German raider *Emden* was then at large in the Indian "Emden"  
Ocean, where it had wrought great havoc amongst merchant  
shipping. Turning southwards, the *Emden* landed a party  
which wrecked the cable station on Cocos Island. Warned  
by wireless messages sent out for help before the plant was  
destroyed, the cruiser *Sydney*, commanded by Captain  
Glossop, went full steam ahead for the island. It was a  
neat and pretty little action. The *Sydney*'s guns outranged  
the *Emden*, and her gunners made such good shooting that  
very soon the *Emden* was out of action, and piled up on the  
shore, a mass of wreckage. The survivors, including the  
captain, Müller, were made prisoners.

Curiously enough this was the last fight in which surface ships of the Australian Navy were engaged in the war. The *Australia* and the other vessels were active in many other quarters of the world throughout the war, and did valuable work in the North Sea and elsewhere, but they saw no actual fighting. The *New Zealand*, presented to the British Navy by New Zealand, took part in the Jutland Battle in May, 1916. But there was a generous recognition of the work of the only Dominion navy, that of Australia, on the great day at the

1915

close of the war, when the German Navy formally surrendered. The *Australia* led one of the lines of British vessels through which the German ships-of-war passed on their way to be handed over and interned.

*The  
"A.E. 2."*

An Australian submarine, the *A.E. 2*, had a brief but glorious career of activity in connection with the attempt to force the Dardanelles. On the day of the landing at Anzac, April 25, 1915, she slipped through the Straits and into the Sea of Marmora. Her run was a very short one, but while it lasted she played havoc, in company with the British submarine *E.14*, with Turkish transports, and put fear into the hearts of the Turks.

It must be borne in mind, however, that the Australian Navy, good as was its record during the war, never became a purely Australian force in the sense that the Australian Army did. Towards the close of the war the Australian Army Corps was not only composed of Australians, but was almost entirely officered and led by Australians. In the navy a large proportion of the officers and men, especially the technical ratings, consisted throughout the war of British Royal Navy men. On the other hand, many Australians, including young officers from the Jervis Bay Naval College, which had been established to train officers for the Australian Navy, served in the Royal Navy, and did excellent work there.

*No Party  
Divisions.*

The war was a question on which there were, at this early stage, no party divisions. It was the anti-Labour party, led by Sir Joseph Cook, which happened to be in power when war was declared. It at once took steps towards occupying the German Pacific possessions, and at the same time offered to the British Government an expeditionary force of some 20,000 for service in Europe or wherever it was needed.

*"Last Man  
and Last  
Shilling."*

Those were the days when there was a widespread idea that the war would be over in a few months. The leader of the Labour Party, which assumed office a few days later, was Mr. Fisher, and he set forth his creed by saying that Australia would be with Great Britain "to the last man and the last shilling." Probably he did not expect to be taken

quite literally ; but in all Australia sent overseas 320,000 men, of whom 60,000 never returned, and her war expenditure amounted to over £350,000,000. The population of the Commonwealth at the time was 5,000,000. It must be remembered that Australia laboured under great disadvantages, in common of course with New Zealand and other Dominions, in raising and equipping this force. The system of compulsory military training, inaugurated four years before, was still in its infancy, and comparatively few of those of fighting age had been brought under its influence. Still, there was excellent material in abundance, and at times men volunteered faster than the staff available could well deal with them. In the matter of equipping the army Australian manufacturers and workers rose to the occasion well. It was generally agreed that on the whole no forces in the field were better clothed and shod than the Australian. Only in the matter of making munitions did Australia fall lamentably behind. Thanks to the enterprise of one great company, the Broken Hill Proprietary, she was able to ship a considerable quantity of steel to Great Britain, but the well-meant attempts to establish shell-making in Australia were failures. It was due partly to her distance from the scene of action, partly to lack of plant and technical knowledge, and partly, perhaps, to a lack of the remarkable enterprise shown in this direction by Canada.

While the Australasian forces sent overseas were still *The Anzacs.* stationed in Egypt for training, some of them had their first taste of warfare in helping to repulse the Turco-German attacks on the Suez Canal. But their first experience of war on a large scale was to be the ill-fated though glorious Gallipoli adventure. On Anzac Day, April 25, 1915, the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (which gained from its initials the name of Anzac, a name also given to the section of Gallipoli where it suffered and fought) made its first landing on the Peninsula. On this date, therefore, Australia's career as a nation may be said to begin. It was the beginning of the fulfilment of the prophecy of the Australian poet, Henry Lawson, who predicted, some

1915

twenty years earlier, that the "Star of Australasia" would rise in the lurid clouds of war, and wrote:

There are boys out there by the western creeks who hurry away from school  
To climb the sides of the breezy peaks or dive in the shaded pool,  
Who'll stick to their guns when the mountains quake to the tread of a mighty war,  
And fight for a Right or a Great Mistake as men never fought before,  
When the peaks are scarred and the seal-walls crack till the furthest hills vibrate,  
And the world for a while goes rolling back in a storm of love and hate.

*Strategy of Campaign.*

The Gallipoli campaign involved the landing on the barren, hilly, almost waterless and nearly roadless Gallipoli Peninsula of a force which was, in co-operation with the fleet, to gain control of the passage through the Dardanelles into the Sea of Marmora and so make possible an advance on the key position of Constantinople. The Peninsula is fifty-three miles long and at its broadest twelve miles broad. Down it run a succession of rugged though not very high hills, and these were held in strength by the Turks, who had known for some time that an attack was likely and had prepared formidable defences. Throughout the campaign they held the higher ground and their artillery could sweep and search almost all the ground held by the Allies, including the landing-places, which are narrow and bad at best, and backed by steep slopes.

The forces used for this adventure were, as has been said, the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps, the 29th British Division, a Royal Naval Division, and a Division of French troops. The Australians and New Zealanders, who made up over half the striking force, were all men who had enlisted since the declaration of war not nine months earlier, and had less than six months' active training. But this is the testimony of an English observer, John Masefield, concerning them: "They were the finest body of young men ever brought together in modern times. For physical beauty and nobility of bearing they surpassed any men I have ever seen."

*Anzac Cove.*

While the British and French troops landed near the tip of the Gallipoli Peninsula, the Anzacs were given the task of landing some distance up the western side on a narrow

1915

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strip of beach backed by scrub-covered cliffs. To divert the attention of the Turks a New Zealander, Lieutenant Freyberg, swam ashore from a destroyer at Bulair, away to the north, towing a little raft of flares. He waded ashore, lit his flares at various points along the coast, found a force of Turks strongly entrenched, and swam off again. This wonderful single-handed feat kept a large body of Turks at Bulair during the critical hours of the landing.

About 12,000 Anzacs took part in the actual landing. *The Landing, April 25, 1915.* They sailed from Mudros on the island of Lemnos on April 24, and were off the coast of the Peninsula at half-past one next morning. Then under a setting moon and in calm weather they went on board the boats which were to take them ashore. In the darkness the boats went a little farther to the north than had been intended and landed in Anzac Cove, which was not so strongly defended as the point first picked out. But before the boats reached the shore they had been noticed and the Turks opened a heavy fire on the crowded boats with deadly effect. As the men rowing were killed the survivors took the oars. They drove the boats ashore, sprang into the water and attacked the Turks and drove them back.

The Turks, as they scattered, found shelter in the scrub and in the gullies. Their snipers shot with deadly effect and there were many isolated duels and conflicts. There were only enough boats to carry 1,500 men at a time and it was eight hours before the whole 12,000 were landed. The attackers had no artillery except a single Indian mountain battery, while the Turks brought up more and more guns. Many Australians who had, singly or in groups, pushed on too far were cut off and killed. "There was," writes Masefield, "no thought of surrender in the minds of these marvellous young men; they were the flower of this world's manhood and died as they had lived, owning no master on this earth."

All day and all night the struggle to make good a foothold went on. The Turks were reinforced and came on wave after wave. The beach was heaped with wounded placed as close as could be to the foot of the cliffs for shelter. But

1915

even there a Turkish shell would land from time to time and blow doctors and wounded to pieces. And all the time under heavy fire the landing of stores, supplies, and ammunition went on. On the slopes above men dug and dug until they fell asleep on the ground. Then when the Turks advanced they awoke, fired their rifles, and dug on again.

*Attacks and Counter-Attacks.*

By the end of the second day the Anzacs had made good their position and consolidated it. But it was at a terrible cost. One battalion had 422 men killed, wounded, and missing out of 900. There were not enough unwounded men to press on or to do more than hold back the fresh forces which the Turks were continually bringing up against them. Hold on they did in spite of all assaults.

Fighting went on almost continuously, but the next operations on a large scale were at Cape Helles, near the tip of the Peninsula, on May 6, 7, and 8. Here a part of the Anzacs, brought down to support the attack, were engaged. The attack succeeded and made good the Allied hold on the end of the Peninsula.

At Anzac itself the Turks delivered a great attack on June 29 with the object of "driving the strangers into the sea." These were the orders given by Enver Pasha to an army of 30,000 Turks, who attacked under cover of a great artillery fire. They were completely defeated with a loss estimated at 7,000 or 8,000 killed and wounded.

The Gallipoli adventure had been part of a much wider scheme of operations. It had been intended that the Russians should attack Constantinople from the Black Sea so that there would be a double thrust at the heart of the Turkish Empire. But the campaign in Poland was going against Russia and it became clear that she could not carry out this attack. The Turks were, therefore, free to send large forces to form a reserve for their troops actually engaged on Gallipoli.

*Thirst and Insects.*

The Turks and their German officers were not the only enemies. As summer went on water-supplies ran short at Anzac and most of the water needed had to be brought from Egypt. When big operations were in hand the diffi-

culties of distribution were such that the soldiers were often almost at death's door for want of water. At such times the average ration was at most a pint and a half, sometimes only a pint, per man. Flies and other insects, too, made men's life a burden to them and carried disease and death broadcast.

Early in August the last great effort to break through the Turkish lines and get right across the Peninsula was made. Combined with an attack from the Anzac position which aimed at getting astride the Peninsula was a new landing a little to the north in Suvla Bay with the object of crumbling up the Turkish right. The attack was fixed for August 6, and the Anzac forces were to be reinforced with 30,000 English and Ghurkha troops. It was essential that these should be hidden from the Turkish observers until the time came, and under the ground was the only place where they could be hidden.

So during July the Anzacs, digging by night, roofed and covered in at least twenty miles of dugouts. The new troops were landed at the rate of 1,500 an hour during the nights of August 3, 4, and 5.

On the afternoon of August 6 the attack began against *Lone Pine*. the little plateau of Lone Pine held in force by the Turks. It was one of the fiercest and bloodiest struggles of the campaign. The Turkish front trench was roofed in with heavy logs and beams covered with sandbags. Some of the Australians crossed over the top, got into the open communication trenches behind and came back; but others tore up the beams and dropped down through the gaps to fight hand to hand with the Turks below. It was in this fight that Captain Jacka won the first Australian V.C. of the war, the first of over sixty.

From half-past five till midnight the fight went on and soon it was renewed. At one o'clock the next afternoon the Turks attacked with bombs and bayonets in great waves, charging shoulder to shoulder, and hand-to-hand fighting went on for five hours in the trenches into which they poured. Even when this attack was broken the lull was but short. For five days and five nights the fight went

1915

*Fight for  
Sari Bair.*

on at Lone Pine. The Turkish losses were terrific, but of the Australians who had attacked a fourth had fallen.

On the night of August 6 the Anzacs and the troops who had reinforced them advanced to the attack on the height of Sari Bair, the possession of which would give them control of the only road down the Peninsula. The attack was made in the dark across a wild, rugged, and unknown country. For a time all went well. The New Zealanders took a strong Turkish post and then won the Table Top, a plateau with almost sheer sides held in strength by the Turks. Over rocks and cliffs and through dense scrub, in which lurked many groups of Turkish marksmen, the Anzacs pushed their way forward. They won their way for nearly five miles, but they could not carry the topmost peaks; they were too weary and the Turks too strong. After fourteen hours of fighting and advance they stopped and dug in.

*Suvla Bay  
Landing.*

Meanwhile nearly 30,000 men had been landed in the darkness at Suvla Bay. Then began a race with the Turks for the possession of the hills which dominated the position. The troops fought bravely, but they suffered agonies from the heat and thirst. There was a loss of time on August 7, and that loss was fatal; but for it, the troops from Suvla would have been ready at dawn on August 8 to join the Australians and advance against the heights with a strength that the Turks could not resist. But they were not ready. The Australians and New Zealanders and their supporting troops attacked at dawn. The New Zealanders and the Gloucester Regiment carried the height of Chunuk Bair, though at a terrible cost. Elsewhere the attack failed owing to the difficulties of the country and the resistance of the Turks, who fought well and with all the advantages of position.

August 8 was the critical day. With a strong attack from Suvla the advance could have been pushed on and the Turkish lines of communication cut. But the Suvla advance hung fire and the Turks brought up their new battalions.

Sir Ian Hamilton, the Commander-in-Chief, hastened to Suvla himself on that fateful day, countermanded the

1915

order for an attack at dawn on August 9, and ordered an immediate attack. But the four battalions ordered to advance were not ready until 4 o'clock next morning, and then it was too late and the Turks were in great force with their guns and held them.

In spite of this miscarriage of the plans the attack at Chunuk Bair was duly launched on that same morning of August 9. The summit was carried and for the first time the troops could look down on the Hellespont. But then, just at daylight, came the worst tragedy of those tragic days. By some error or confusion the ships' guns played on the hilltops a little too long and swept away our own men. The Turks took heart and drove the survivors off the crest.

Just before dawn next day, while the 5,000 men at Chunuk were digging in, 15,000 Turks charged, advancing in great masses. They were eventually beaten off, but the crest of the hill remained in their hands.

"Our thrust at Sari Bair had failed," writes Masefield. *A Glorious Failure.*  
"It had just failed by a few minutes, though unsupported from the left. Even then at the eleventh hour two fresh battalions and a ton of water would have made Chunuk ours; but we had neither the men nor the water, and Sari was not to be our hill. Our men fought for four days and nights in a wilderness of gorse and precipice to make her ours. They fought in a blazing sun, without rest, with little food and with almost no water, on hills of fire and on crags rotting to the tread. They went, like all their brothers on that Peninsula, on a forlorn hope, and by bloody pain they won the image and the taste of victory and then, when their reeling bodies had burst the bars so that our race might pass through, there were none to pass."

With the fighting of August 10 the campaign was practically over. There was plenty of fighting, but no further great effort to break through. Both sides settled down to trench warfare. Disease took its toll of the Anzacs crowded on a narrow area. Then, at the end of November, came a fierce blizzard and thousands of men went down through frost-bite and exposure.

1915

*The Withdrawal.*

After much searching of heart it was finally decided to abandon the Peninsula before the winter came in earnest. Some high military authorities declared that to withdraw the troops without fearful losses was impossible, but it was done. At half-past five on the morning of December 20 the last 200 Anzacs—men who had seen the whole adventure from the landing of April 25 onwards—were withdrawn. The abandoned stores were set on fire. The light of those fires was the last that the withdrawing Anzacs saw of the patch of ground that they had bought with blood and death, and held so long with such resolution, stubborn courage, and heroism.

The thrust at Constantinople had failed. Later the Australasians were to help to turn the flank of the Turk, and to overthrow his armies by pushing through the desert from Egypt to Palestine, occupying Jerusalem, routing the enemy on the plains of Megiddo or Armageddon, and sweeping on to Damascus, which they entered in triumph.

*Australians in France.*

In the long-drawn-out struggle in France and Belgium the Australians, though but a drop in the bucket amongst the vast forces brought into action by the Allies, greatly distinguished themselves. They were often given the honourable but dangerous position of shock or storm troops. Australian technical units also showed courage and resource to a marked degree. It was Australian miners and engineers who made possible the blowing out of existence of Hill 60, south of Ypres, one of the most remarkable feats of its kind in the war. The mining corps to which the work was entrusted was commanded by Professor David of the Sydney University, who did not let the burden of over sixty years prevent him from going to the front.

*The Testing Time.*

It was in the winter of 1916, one of the severest known in France for many years, that the Australians first appeared on the Western front. The hardships of trench life in a severe winter might have been expected to fall with crushing force on men drawn mainly from warm and sunny regions, but they stuck it out. Throughout 1917 they were actively engaged at many points on the front, but it was in the teeth of the great German attacks which began in March,

1918, that their real testing-time came. When the British Fifth Army broke before the German onslaughts on the Somme, the Australians were brought up. After a fierce struggle they stopped the German rush towards Amiens, which aimed at breaking through to the sea and thrusting in a wedge between the British forces and the French. In the successful attacks on the German positions that followed, the Australians and New Zealanders performed marvels of courage and endurance. Their feat in breaking the tremendously strong German line of defences, known as the Hindenburg Line, will always rank high amongst feats of war. Comparatively small as their numbers were, the Anzacs played no small part in that "hundred days of victory" which led the Germans to ask for terms and resulted in the conclusion of the Armistice on November 11, 1918, "the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month."

Their work at Gallipoli had shown that the Australians and New Zealanders were troops of the highest quality. *Australian Army Corps.* To a valour unsurpassed in the history of war they added versatility, tenacity of purpose, and a genius for expedients. The high reputation which they had gained at the Dardanelles they fully justified when, in May, 1916, they were first transferred to the Western front. But it was not till later that they became a complete and compact fighting force, fully equipped with every arm and carrying out, as one unit, operations on a large scale. This development was a necessary condition for a full realisation of their capacity as a fighting force. It was about the middle of 1918 that the Australian Army Corps, as such, became an important, almost a decisive, factor in the war.

At this time Australia had five divisions in the field. *The Five Divisions.* The first division was raised immediately after the outbreak of war, went to Egypt in 1914, and was employed at the landing at Anzac in 1915. The second division, raised in 1915, followed the first to Anzac. The third was raised early in 1916, and may be considered as the answer of Australia to the public men and newspapers who declared or hinted that resentment would be aroused by the with-

1916

drawal from Gallipoli, the failure of the Dardanelles venture. This division was sent direct to England and was trained on Salisbury Plain. Then it went to France in November, 1916. Later, the fourth and fifth divisions were added as recruits came in.

*Somme,  
Fleurbaix,  
and Pas-  
schendaele.*

The First and Second Divisions were transferred from Egypt to France in May, 1916, and went into the front lines on the Somme in July, 1916. Later the Australians and New Zealanders were transferred to the Armentières and Flanders sector, where they took part in the fierce fighting at Fleurbaix, where the Australians suffered terrible losses, and elsewhere. The Australasians played an important part in the great and successful battle of Messines on June 7, 1917. Later they were active in the capture of the Passchendaele Ridge. It was here that the first Australian divisions were first engaged together in a common enterprise.

As yet, however, there was no complete unity of command and of policy. It was in December, 1917, that the Australian Army Corps was formed, commanded by a British officer, General Birdwood. But very soon afterwards the Fourth Division was detached and sent to the Cambrai region.

*Sir John  
Monash.*

In May, 1918, General Birdwood became leader of the British Fifth Army, and General Sir John Monash, an Australian citizen soldier, who was an engineer by profession, was appointed to the command of the Australian Army Corps.

For some time a part of the corps was engaged near Hazebrouck. But early in August, 1918, it was brought together as one compact whole. It was the largest of all the army corps ever organised. The average strength of the five Australian divisions was about 170,000 men, and there was in addition a fluctuating number of corps troops, amounting sometimes to nearly 50,000. United States and British troops attached to the corps brought the total strength up to about 200,000. The corps was fully supplied with artillery of all kinds, and with the necessary technical branches.

*Last Great  
German  
Attack.*

It was in March, 1918, that the Germans began their last great offensive, directed mainly towards Amiens. It

was then that the Australians were brought from Flanders, where some of them had been engaged for sixteen months, to the Somme. The Germans began their attack on March 21, and on March 26 and 27 the Australians were thrown into the fight. As they went forward through the battered remnants of the British troops, on whom the first assault had fallen, they asked where the Germans were. "You'll find them soon enough, chum," said a British soldier. And they did. But they stayed the German advance, and from this time began that process which ended in the German defeat.

The new Australian Army Corps, now welded together *Turn of the Tide.* into a well-nigh perfect instrument of war, first showed its quality fully on July 4, when the village of Hamel was recovered from the enemy.

"A perfected modern battle," wrote Sir John Monash in describing the operation, "is like nothing so much as the score for an orchestra. The various arms and units are the instruments."

The attack was the perfection of team-work. Everything went with clock-like precision. The Australians earned their objectives, took 1,500 prisoners, and killed or disabled over 1,500 of the enemy.

A much greater operation was attempted on August 8, *Taking of Harbonnières.* when the Australians and Canadians captured Harbonnières. Plans had been made for an advance in the one day of 9,000 yards, or over five miles, a much greater advance than had ever been attempted in one day in fighting of this kind. With 1,000 guns, large and small, thundering at once, the attack began and went according to schedule. With only 1,200 casualties themselves, the Australians made 6,000 prisoners. The German leader Ludendorff says in his Memoirs:

"August 8 was a black day for the German Army *Hundred Days of Victory.* in the history of the war. This was the worst experience that it had to go through."

After this, successes came in rapid sequence. On August 23 the Australians captured Chuignes and made 3,100 prisoners. From August 31 to September 3 three divisions were engaged in the capture of Mont St. Quentin

and Péronne. This action was characterised by the British General, Lord Rawlinson, as the finest single feat of the war. Monash, who was in command of the Australians, described it as "an achievement memorable in military annals, and standing to the everlasting glory of the troops who took part in it."

The four days' fighting ended with the Australians being masters of every objective. Thirty-five battalions, from the Second, Third, and Fifth Divisions, took part in this most purely infantry combat of the war. They faced picked troops from the crack regiments of the Prussian Army, and had to cross open country with scarcely any cover. Yet within three hours they had a footing on Mont St. Quentin, and next day carried the advance over its crest. Every inch had to be taken at the point of the bayonet, and the ground was strewn with enemy dead. On September 2 Péronne was entered, and the following day the Germans lost it for ever, making it essential for them to give up the last big defences before the famous Hindenburg Line.

*The Hindenburg Line.*

On September 18 the Australians advanced to the attack on the outpost defences of the Siegfried or Hindenburg Line itself. Their success was remarkable. The actual attacking strength of the First Division was 2,554 men, but it made 1,750 prisoners at a cost of 440 casualties. The Fourth, with 3,048 men engaged, made 2,543 prisoners and had 532 casualties. This was the last fight of the First and Fourth Divisions. They went out of the line for a rest, and before they returned the fighting was over.

The other divisions, aided by American troops, pushed on with the capture of the immensely strong main Hindenburg Line. On September 29 they captured Montrebain, and on October 4 the Australians fought their last battle of the war. The Germans had by this time realised that the game was up. According to Ludendorff, the beginning of the end dated back to that fateful August 8. In little more than a month the Armistice was signed.

*The Great Advance.*

In the period from March 27 to October 5 the Australians had made 29,144 prisoners and captured 338 guns. During their great advance, between August 8 and October 5, less

than two months, they had recovered from the Germans 116 towns and villages and gained 394 square miles of territory. Their total casualties in these two months were:

Killed .. .. .. ..	3,566
Died of wounds .. .. .. ..	1,432
Wounded .. .. .. ..	16,166
Missing .. .. .. ..	79
 Total .. .. .. ..	 <u>21,423</u>

While the bulk of the Australians fought on the frozen fields of France, the horsemen were engaged in the sweltering heat of the deep-sunken Jordan Valley or on the desert plains between Egypt and Palestine. They formed an important part of the composite forces which, under General Allenby, took Jerusalem and then pushed the Turks further and further back until they were finally routed and Damascus was occupied. Under the dashing leadership of General Sir Harry Chauvel, the Anzacs proved eminently adapted for this warfare with its tremendous demands on the endurance of both men and horses. In some respects the conditions were not unlike those of certain parts of inner Australia. In fact, some Australians—not Jews either—were so taken with Palestine, after having spied out the land as soldiers, that after the war was ended they settled down on the land there as farmers.

Australian activities in the war were not confined to the Western front and Palestine, though these were their main spheres of operation. When an election was held during the war, special precautions were taken to record as far as possible the votes of all Australian soldiers and sailors. They voted on every continent and on nearly every ocean. Australasians served in the Balkans, at Salonika, in Mesopotamia, and elsewhere. Detachments from the troops in Egypt fought against the raiding desert tribes on the western frontiers of Egypt and in the Soudan. Individual Australians served in South-West and East Africa, and in many other minor spheres of operation. After the Armistice a number of Australasians volunteered for the British expedition to Archangel and fought against the Bolsheviks.

Syrian  
Campaign.

Fighting  
on Many  
Fields.

1915

*W. M.  
Hughes.*

in North Russia. Australian airmen did good work on the Western and Palestine fronts.

While the Australian troops raised immensely the credit and prestige of their country abroad, there took place in Australia itself some events worth noting, and connected intimately in some cases with the war. In 1915 Andrew Fisher, the leader of the Labour Ministry, retired to the comfortable and well-paid sinecure of Australian High Commissioner in London. To him as Prime Minister there succeeded his lieutenant, the "brains of the Labour Party," William Morris Hughes. This man was very different from the usual type of politician. Sprung from a family of small farmers in a remote part of Wales, he had come to Australia in his youth, and there played many parts. By turns he was a farm labourer, a blacksmith's striker, an umbrella mender, a super on the stage, a union organiser, and many other things. He entered politics and also became a lawyer, and for a number of years controlled the wharf labourers' union. Puny-looking and undersized, with a face which has been an inspiration to caricaturists, he possessed nevertheless a restless and indefatigable energy, a brain of remarkable keenness, a passion for power, and an almost unrivalled power of invective and irony. With a genius for intrigue and the devious ways of politics he combined a breadth of view and a vivid imagination sadly lacking in most of his colleagues and his opponents alike.

*Conscription  
Failure.*

Towards the end of 1916 the question of reinforcements for the Australian forces abroad became a pressing one. The drains in losses were heavy and reinforcements were not coming forward so freely as at an earlier date. New Zealand, in common with Great Britain and Canada, solved this problem by adopting conscription and calling up the various classes of able-bodied men in rotation. Earlier in the war Hughes, in common with many others, had scoffed at the proposals even then put forward for conscription as the fairest means of obtaining men. Now he decided that conscription was necessary, but lacked the courage to impose it by administrative act or legislation, as was done in New Zealand and elsewhere. He decided to put it to a popular

vote. Incidentally the decision led to a break-up of the Labour Party. The majority of his Ministers and of the party forsook Hughes and opposed conscription. Hughes carried on for a while with the remnant, of whom nearly everyone was a Minister, and then joined forces with his old opponents, remaining Prime Minister and dictator. As might have been expected, in view of the forces arrayed against it, conscription was defeated, though not by a very large majority. The same fate befell a second vote on the subject. Fortunately the voluntary response was sufficient to enable the Australian Expeditionary Force to keep up to the end its reputation as a fighting unit.

Thanks to the fact that the war was fought at a distance, £175,000,000 Australian industries suffered far less than those of most belligerent countries. Vast transactions were carried out with the British Government. One of these involved the purchase of 3,000,000 tons of wheat. Great Britain bought from Australia at a fixed price wool to the value of £175,000,000 and large supplies of lead, zinc, and other minerals. New Zealand, with her magnificent grasslands, prospered greatly owing to the keen demand at high prices for her meat, butter, cheese, and wool.

One German raider, the *Wolf*, which had escaped the British blockade, operated in Australasian waters during the war. It laid mines which caused the loss of two steamers and captured an Australian vessel on its way to New Guinea, carrying some of the passengers and crew as prisoners to Germany.

Another effect of the war on Australia was to stimulate local manufactures to an extraordinary degree. The conversion of factories into munition works, the German submarine campaign, and the lack of shipping, greatly reduced the imports of British goods into Australia. This was in part made good by importations from the United States and Japan, but to a large extent also by the development of Australian manufactures. With the object of consolidating and extending this advance, the Hughes Government introduced in 1921 a tariff which, while continuing the principle of preference to British goods first introduced

*Deal in  
Wool.*

*The Raider  
"Wolf."*

*Australian  
Manufactures.*

1921

in 1908, gave a greater measure of protection than had ever before been known in Australia. In many cases a duty of 50 and even 55 per cent. was imposed on non-British goods. One of the avowed aims of those responsible for this tariff was to induce British manufacturers to open works in Australia. New Zealand continued to adhere to the principle of a revenue tariff.

*The New Nations.*

Apart from their general interest in the settlement of peace terms and more particularly in the disposal of the former German territories in the Pacific, the Peace Conference at Versailles had a special importance for Australia and New Zealand in that they were given representation at the Conference as nations. For the time being this involved no great readjustment of their standing as parts of the British Empire, but it contained within it the elements of quite a new development. Instead of the British Empire being represented as a unit, Australia, for instance, was directly represented at the Conference by Mr. Hughes, and the same was the case with the other Dominions. It may fairly be said, therefore, that Australia and New Zealand appeared before the world for the first time as nations.

*Pacific Mandates.*

The administration of the former German territories in the Pacific was settled on the basis of their occupation under mandates from the new-born League of Nations—a quite new form of territorial tenure. To New Zealand was given German Samoa, to Australia German New Guinea and other islands south of the Equator, while the ex-German islands north of the Equator went to Japan. The mandatory power holds possession as a kind of trustee. It is bound not to fortify the mandated territories, to obey various other stipulations, and to make regular reports to the League.

*Japan and Equal Rights.*

A vexed question raised by Japan at the Conference was that of equal rights for coloured races. Even the affirmation of an abstract principle Mr. Hughes felt bound to resist, in view of the White Australia policy and of the exclusion of coloured races in Australia. The objection to coloured immigration into Australia, by the way, is one of the many things that first took root in the digging days.

The lure of gold led to a sudden influx of Chinese, whose presence on the goldfields led to riots at Lambing Flat (New South Wales) and elsewhere. At a later date the various States took measures to put obstacles in the way of the entry of Chinese, and finally the Commonwealth, as already related, provided the education test as a device for excluding coloured immigrants. The Japanese claim, in theory at least, was that no man should be barred on account of colour alone. Eventually the matter was not pressed.

After long delays Australia received her mandate in 1921, and proceeded to set up a civil administration in the ex-German territories assigned to her. Since their occupation these had been under military rule and governed according to German law.

An ill-defined fear of aggression from the East if Australia continued to shut out her teeming hordes from the continent—a policy on which the great majority of the population seem to be agreed—has long been growing in Australia. The first settlements were in the south and the tropical part of Australia; one-third of the whole area contains less than one-thirtieth of the total population. For this reason the Hughes Ministry cultivated in an informal way the friendship of America, feeling that American support in the Pacific might be useful if trouble arose with any Eastern power. After the war, however, the defence policy of Australia went largely into the melting-pot. The Australian Navy was cut down to the bone, partly as a measure of economy and partly on the ground that it was best to mark time until it was decided, in consultation with the British Admiralty, what lines of development were indicated by the lessons of the war. In the case of the land forces there was a hesitancy about doing anything very new and definite. It has been urged by Sir John Monash, who led the Australians with such success in France, that the first essential is to make Australia self-contained in regard to munitions and equipment, and that if this is guaranteed the training of the men is comparatively a secondary matter. But three years after the end of the war little progress had been made by the Commonwealth in securing this end. Aviation,

*Australia  
and the  
United  
States.*

1921

in which Australia was vitally interested, made slow progress, and the Commonwealth showed hesitancy and unnecessary caution.

*Industrial  
Inde-  
pendence.*

Private enterprise has done a good deal to make Australia in some degree independent of the outside world in certain things which are indispensable to a civilised people whether in peace or war. Iron ore has been worked in Australia with varying success and on a comparatively small scale for a long period; but just before the outbreak of war the Broken Hill Proprietary, one of the companies which had drawn great wealth from the silver-lead deposits of Broken Hill, established modern steel works on a large scale at Newcastle in New South Wales. Local coal was used to smelt iron ore, which was drawn from a vast deposit of exceptional purity at the Iron Knob in South Australia, 1,500 miles away by sea. Shipbuilding had languished in Australia since the general introduction of steam and the passing of the wooden vessels. During the war the building of steel steamers of considerable size was undertaken by the Federal Ministry.

## CHAPTER XXI

### NEW ZEALAND'S LATER GROWTH

WHEN New Zealand attained self-government in 1852 the decentralising influence of the piecemeal method in which the country had been settled was shown by the fact that something like a Federal system was established. There were six provinces—Auckland, Wellington, and New Plymouth in the North Island, and Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago in the South. These were later increased to nine by the addition of Hawke's Bay, Marlborough, and Westland; while Southland was for a while separated from Otago, though afterwards reunited to it. Until 1875 the provinces enjoyed a large amount of autonomy. Each had a superintendent and a council with power to deal with local matters. Such subjects as the post office, the Customs, defence, and others affecting the country as a whole, were reserved for the Central Government, which consisted of a nominee Council and an Assembly. The financial arrangements were simple, but not satisfactory to everyone. The Central Government spent what it thought necessary and allocated what was left amongst the provinces. A fruitful source of friction was the dissatisfaction of the southern provinces with the heavy expenditure entailed by the Maori wars in the North Island.

For peace did not last long in the North. In 1865 Grey, *The King Movement.* who had settled the first Maori war, was transferred to South Africa and his successors were soon in trouble with the Maoris, mainly over land matters. The system by which the Maoris could sell land to white settlers only through the Secretary for Native Affairs was still in force; but settlers eager for land were continually trying to deal direct with the natives, some of whom claimed to be able to sell land

1856

to which they had no real title. In 1856 a number of Maori chiefs bound themselves to sell no more land to anyone. At the same time was set on foot the "King" movement for uniting the Maoris under one chief, who could represent them in dealings with the Governor and the authorities. Several tribes united in choosing as their "King" one Potatau; but he was an old man and not inclined to risk trouble, so that for some years the King movement was no menace. But in 1860 war broke out over a block of land in the Waitara district of Taranaki. Curiously enough the Maori chief involved was that Wiremu Kingi te Rangitake who had helped to save Wellington years before, one of the chiefs who had refused to have anything to do with the King movement. The white settlers at Taranaki required more land and in 1859 the authorities arranged to buy a block, in spite of the opposition of Kingi, who occupied part of the land and also claimed that, as chief, he had the power of vetoing the sale of any land belonging to his tribe. The would-be sellers disputed this claim and the Government sided with them. When surveyors were sent to mark out the block Kingi sent the ugliest old women of his tribe to kiss them. Browne, the Governor, proclaimed martial law in the Taranaki province, and Kingi and his followers threw in their lot with the King movement and called in the aid of the powerful Waikato tribes.

*War in  
Taranaki.*

The British regulars fought bravely, but they were outmanœuvred by the Maoris in bushfighting. The Maoris joyfully welcomed the excitement and there was a good deal of skirmishing. Then Browne was replaced, in 1861, by Grey, whose second term as Governor of New Zealand lasted from 1861 to 1868. Grey tried to conciliate the Maoris, and worked out a scheme for making the chiefs magistrates and police officers, with power to nominate representatives for the councils of their districts. But, in spite of his efforts, the Waikato Maoris would not give up the King idea, and the new King, Tawhio, was by no means so friendly as his predecessor Potatau. As to the disputed Waitara block, Grey decided, after investigation, that it should be given back to Kingi. But unluckily, before it was returned, the

authorities had taken possession of another area in Taranaki which belonged to white settlers but had been seized by the Maoris during the fighting.

This seemed unfair to the Maoris and they began the war anew. Ten settlers were massacred for a start, all Europeans were driven out of the Waikato region, and the "King Maoris" were eager for a trial of strength with the white men. But Grey had been having a road made into the Waikato country, and now he used it to send strong forces of British regulars and militia troops under General Cameron into the enemy's stronghold. A strongly fortified pah at Rangiriri was taken after a gallant resistance and Cameron rendered useless the Maori's strong line of defence at Paterangi by carrying out a turning movement which cut the Maori's line of supply. A body of 300 Maoris hastily erected a stockade at Oraktau and successfully resisted a force more than four times their number. Then a gun was brought up and its fire reached the stockade, but when the Maoris, with whom were a number of women and children, were called on to surrender, they replied that they would fight on "for ever and ever." Singing the ancient war songs of their race, they marched against the superior English forces. Over half of them were killed and the rest dispersed. The war in Waikato was over.

Elsewhere, however, the fighting dragged on. At the Gate Pah the warriors of the Tauranga tribe, hidden in rifle-pits, shot down at their leisure the officers of the attacking forces, under General Cameron, and they were forced to fall back with heavy loss. The Maoris abandoned the pah that night and six weeks later they were defeated in turn.

Yet even then the war was not over. In 1864 a native *The Hau-haus.* "prophet" began to preach in Taranaki a new religion, a strange compound of the ancestral beliefs of the Maoris and distorted ideas of Christianity. The fanatics who adopted this doctrine revived the long disused practice of cannibalism, mutilating and eating the bodies of their slain enemies. They were called the "Hau-haus," because their leader had assured them that if they shouted "Hau-hau," in honour

1864

of their god, the Angel Gabriel, as they charged they would be unharmed by the bullets of their opponents. The prophet seems to have fallen a victim to a bullet early in the proceedings, but the Hau-haus were not finally suppressed till 1870. Luckily most even of the King natives held aloof from the Hau-haus. Nevertheless, though the fanatics soon lost their hold in Taranaki, they held out for some time in the Wanganui district and their emissaries gained proselytes at Poverty Bay and about the Bay of Plenty. But here the friendly Maoris and in particular two chiefs, Te Kepa (Major Kemp) and Ropata, did most of the work of suppressing the movement. On the Wanganui Grey himself took over the command from General Cameron; and on July 21, 1865, with a mixed force of Maoris and colonists, he took the pah at Waeroa and put an end to the war in that region.

*The King Country.*

For some years, however, the Hau-haus caused spasmodic outbreaks from time to time. Some 3,000,000 acres in Taranaki and elsewhere were taken over by the Government as forfeited. About a tenth of this was granted to Maoris who had stood by the authorities, and much the same area was restored to the Maori owners who submitted. Most of the rest was made available for sale to white settlers, while 400,000 acres between the Waikato and the Waipa were reserved for a series of military settlements to be formed from members of the militia, who were to act as a barrier against the "King" natives. The King Maoris in their turn proclaimed what they called "Te Aikati," the boundary line. Within this was the King country, which no white man and no Maori who had sided with the whites might enter. For many years the "King" Maoris remained in sullen isolation within this area.

While the hostile Maoris thus cut themselves off from communication with the outside world, Grey provided for full recognition of the rights and privileges of the friendly tribes. The Maoris were allowed four members in the New Zealand Parliament, Maori schools were endowed, and their land customs were given the force of law.

*Escape of  
Te Kooti.*

Grey's governorship, however, came to an end in 1868, mainly as a result of friction with the British army officers,

Cameron and his successor General Chute. He left office regretted both by the white settlers and by the friendly Maoris. Hardly had Sir George Bowen succeeded him when there was a strange revival of the Hau-hau outrages. In 1865 a Maori named Te Kooti had been arrested as a spy, an accusation which he always denied, and sent with other prisoners to Chatham Island. On July 4, 1868, Te Kooti led a rising of the prisoners. They overpowered the guards, seized a schooner, and sailed back to New Zealand, where they landed near Poverty Bay. Te Kooti and his followers broke through the attacking parties and massacred all the settlers they could find at Poverty Bay, without respect to age or sex. About the same time there was an outbreak in the west under a Hau-hau chief who revived cannibalism. There was but one British regiment in New Zealand and this was under orders to leave. These orders were carried out, in spite of the Governor's prayers. However, the "King" Maoris held aloof from the Hau-haus and the friendly tribes rendered yeoman service in co-operation with the colonial forces under Colonel Whitmore. Te Kepa aided in the suppression of the western outbreak and Ropata joined in the storming of Te Kooti's strong pah at Ngatapa. Te Kepa and Ropata then hunted Te Kooti for months, until he took refuge in the King country, where he was allowed to remain and sank into obscurity.

From 1870 onwards there was no more real trouble with the Maoris, though there has been occasional friction over the land question. The Maoris have settled down as a peaceful if not very progressive community, generally on very good terms with their white neighbours.

New Zealand shared, though later and to a lesser extent, in the "digging days" of Australia. In 1861 rich gold deposits were discovered at Gabriel's Gully and elsewhere in the bleak uplands of Central Otago. Swarms of diggers from Australia, as well as from other parts of New Zealand, poured into Otago and the population was soon increased fourfold. A little later came rich discoveries on the mountainous, storm-beaten, and heavily forested west coast of the South Island, where the influx of diggers gave rise to

*Gold in  
Otago and  
Westland.*

1865

*Gum and  
the Dalmatians.*

the province of Westland. Later, the best steam coal in Australasia was discovered on this coast. Gold was also found in the Thames Valley, in the North Island; but this had less effect on the movement of population.

A curious source of wealth, which incidentally led to a considerable influx of aliens into New Zealand, was exploited in the poor and hungry lands in the far north of the Auckland forest. These lands must once have been covered with forests of Kauri pine, and the gum or resin from the vanished trees is dug out of the ground in lumps where the forests once stood. This gum is largely used for varnishes, and for many years gum diggers, sometimes to the number of several thousands, have been searching for it. Most of these men are Dalmatians. In pre-war days, therefore, they were Austrian subjects, but they were usually Slavs with little affection for Austria. Apart from the Maoris, who now number under 50,000, but are no longer decreasing in numbers, New Zealand's population of 1,100,000 is as solidly British as that of Australia, perhaps slightly more so. There are some Chinese, but not very many, and a sprinkling of Germans, Scandinavians and others in some districts. Recently a new problem has been created in the north by an infiltration of Indians from Fiji. Here the Indians, introduced to furnish labour to the sugar and other plantations, now outnumber the native Fijians and bid fair to make Fiji a little India in the South Seas.

*"Boom,  
Borrow,  
and Burst."*

In the seventies New Zealand, like the Australian colonies, entered on a policy of borrowing large sums of money for public works and the encouragement of immigration, sometimes called the "boom, borrow, and burst policy." It was proposed to be met by "loading" the Crown lands, which were to be increased in value by the new public works. The provinces managed to block this apparently reasonable proposition, but the borrowing went on. It was the provinces that did not. In 1865 the capital had been moved from Auckland to a more central position at Wellington in the extreme south of the North Island. In 1875 and 1876 the provinces ceased to exist; unity of government and their powers, as far as they were not granted to local

bodies, were taken over by the Central Parliament at Wellington.

1879

The borrowing boom came to an end in 1879 and the next few years were a time of depression. It was at this period that legislation in New Zealand first took a decidedly Socialist trend. Large estates were taxed and were bought by the State and cut up into small farms. Insurance, hospitals, and other activities left to private enterprise in Australia, were brought under State control.

But the prosperity of New Zealand has really been built on grass. The soil and climate of the islands lend themselves admirably to the growth of the artificial grasses which have given New Zealand her great output of butter and cheese, meat and wool. During the war there was a keen demand for these products at high prices; and New Zealand, partly owing, it is true, to more care and caution in public finance, came out of the war far better financially than Australia.

*Built on  
Grass.*

Like Australia, New Zealand has in recent years undertaken responsibilities beyond her own borders. Mention has already been made of Sir George Grey's 1848 suggestion for a Pacific Confederation. Somewhat similar ideas were revived in New Zealand from time to time. In the seventies a proposal was mooted for a New Zealand trading and governing company, somewhat on the lines of the old East India Company, to be associated with the Government of New Zealand and to operate in the Pacific. This came to nothing, but later New Zealand not only took charge of Chatham Island and of the southern islands in the adjacent seas (except Macquarie Island), but also annexed the Ker-madecs and other small groups in the South Pacific. At the outbreak of war New Zealand co-operated with Australia in occupying German Samoa and after the close of the war New Zealand received a mandate from the League of Nations to administer it. New Zealand's rule in Samoa has not been regarded with unmixed favour by either the white or the native inhabitants and some of the chiefs petitioned for direct rule by Great Britain. But a good deal of the discontent, as in the territories administered

1921

by Australia under mandate, was no doubt due to the difficulties and troubles of the transition period. But there has been a movement, which may gain strength, for a confederation of the various Pacific groups, Fiji, Samoa, the Solomons, the New Hebrides, and others, which would then form a unit in the British Empire. The difficulty is the lack of homogeneity in the populations.

*Con-  
scription.*

Into the war against Germany New Zealand threw herself even more whole-heartedly, if possible, than Australia. In the earlier stages of the war volunteers came forward with as much readiness as in the Commonwealth, and later New Zealand did not shrink from conscription of men of military age to keep up the strength of her forces. Some young men went to Australia to escape conscription, but they were exceptions. The New Zealanders under General Godley fought with the Australians on Gallipoli. They distinguished themselves in France and also did excellent service in the Palestine campaign.

## CHAPTER XXII

### SOME FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

OWING to the conditions imposed by geography and by the circumstances of its early history, the development of New Zealand differs markedly in some respects from that of Australia. There is no such concentration of population in large cities as in Australia. Auckland, the largest city of New Zealand, has a population of 130,000, while Sydney, which holds the same position in Australia, had 897,000 in 1921.

In New Zealand the great bulk of the population lives in the country or in small towns, while in three States of the Commonwealth, Victoria, New South Wales, and South Australia, practically one-half lives in the capital cities.

While the proportion of British blood is about the same in Australia as in New Zealand, the New Zealanders show less departure from the British type physically. Statistics show that both in Australia and in New Zealand the native-born, particularly those of the second and third generation, are slightly bigger and heavier than the inhabitants of Great Britain. But the New Zealanders are inclined to keep more to the traditional John Bull figure, sturdy and stocky, while the Australian tendency to run to length was noted at a very early date, when the name "Cornstalks" was given to the Australian-born.

Many New Zealanders like to believe that in methods and habits of life and thought they keep closer to British ideals and practices than the supposedly restless and revolutionary Australians. Against this theory is to be set the fact that politically New Zealand gave the lead to Australia in the matter of State Socialism and of other economic and political experiments. That there is, on the whole, slightly more

1921

— conservatism (in the general not in the political sense) in New Zealand than in Australia seems to be a fact.

In both countries British influence and tradition, apart from the question of racial origin and blood, which is so overwhelmingly British, remains very strong. In her political constitution Australia, in a Federal constitution borrowed largely from the United States, with touches from Canada, Switzerland, and elsewhere, has departed much further from the British model than New Zealand, which has kept fairly close to the original since the disappearance of the provinces.

*Spelling  
and the  
Movies.*

Not only is the British language used everywhere, except amongst a few small groups, but no general and well-marked changes such as distinguish the spoken, if not altogether the written, language of the United States have been made. A number of new words have been evolved in Australasia to meet local conditions and needs, some borrowed from the aborigines and some coined; while in others well-known English words have been given a new twist or meaning. But these do not affect the general position. There is a tendency, due to the growing though as yet not very great influence of American literature and to commercial relations with the United States, to use American spellings and American expressions. The Chief Justice of the High Court of Australia took official exception to this practice in 1920, and said that he would not allow the American spelling in official documents. It has been pointed out that the movie films, which come mainly from the United States, are a powerful Americanising influence. They have an immense vogue and, while some are frankly propagandist, all of them introduce American methods, fashions, and tricks of speech and thought. It cannot be said of many of them that they represent the best kind of Americanism.

*Literature.*

American literature has grown greatly in popularity, but it is English literature that is the great influence both in Australia and in New Zealand. In both countries there has been a large output of literature both in prose and verse. Most of it is very ephemeral in character, but in Australia especially there has been a good deal of more permanent

development. It can hardly be said as yet that there is a great Australian literature, but there is at least something more than the promise of one.

While it was the war with Germany which first brought Australia and New Zealand into the full current of world-politics, the increasing transference of the world's possible storm-centre to the Pacific is likely to have a profound influence on their position in the near future. Less than a century ago the Pacific and its shores counted for very little in the affairs of the world. On one side were the ancient nations of China and Japan, still entirely secluded from the Western world, on the other the Spanish colonies of America, which had secured their independence from the mother-countries and were plunging into a riot of revolutions on their own account.

1921

*Pacific Problems.*

Now Japan, become a world power, and the United States face one another across the Northern Pacific. European nations have entered the Pacific, and lines of traffic cross it in many directions. The enterprise of Ross Smith and his companions in 1919 proved that Australia can be reached by air as well as by sea. Isolation and distance can no longer be relied on as an effectual protection for the British Dominions in the Southern Seas. Both Australia and New Zealand have accepted new responsibilities by taking over the former German territory. Of neither can it as yet be said that they are broad-based on the resources of a continent.

New Zealand lacks the continent. It is, excluding the dependencies, about the size of Italy, or a little larger than Great Britain. With its better rainfall than Australia and its large proportion of fertile land, it had already, by 1921, a population of over 1,100,000, with a density between five and six times that of Australia. It is, therefore, in a stronger position than Australia from the point of view of population and of occupation. Very much remains to be done, but with a continuance of steady progress the future of New Zealand as the "Britain of the Southern Seas" should be assured.

*New Zealand's Outlook.*

Australia has the continent, but the greater part of it is

1919

*Australia  
and the  
Future.*

as yet almost unused. With a population of 5,500,000 for 3,000,000 square miles, Australia is the emptiest amongst the great habitable regions of the world. And of this population nearly half is concentrated in six State capitals, and most of the rest is to be found in the south-eastern corner of the continent, south-east of a line drawn from Brisbane to Adelaide. Vast areas of the interior are arid regions which will always be thinly peopled. But Australia's great problem is effectively to occupy and develop the large areas, mainly in the north, which are at present almost unused. If this can be done speedily Australia's destiny as the one solidly British continent will be secure as far as human provision can make it. Australia has had a great deal of luck in the past, but conditions have changed so entirely that it would be dangerous to assume that she will always be favoured in the same way.

"With bread and iron," wrote Carlyle "one goes to China." Australia is more concerned about the possibility of China coming to her. She has the bread and the iron, and also meat, wool, and many other things. She has the men, as the years from 1914 to 1918 abundantly proved, but she needs many more of them to assure her future.

And now, as in the past, the one essential condition of the security of Australasia is the integrity and continuance of the British Empire.

## INDEX

ABORIGINES of Australia, 109-112, 202; of Tasmania, 82-84, 128-131  
 Abreu, 4  
 Adelaide, foundation of, 153  
 Agriculture in Australia, 70, 104, 177  
 Anzac, 225-237  
 Arthur, Governor, 126, 129, 131, 144, 178  
 Asiatic navigators to Australia, 2-3  
 "Assigned" convicts, 50, 51  
 Atkins, Judge, 45  
 Auckland, foundation of, 170  
 Australasian League, the, 185  
 Australia, future prospects of, 253-254  
 "Australia," 10  
 Balboa, 6  
 Banks, Sir Joseph, 23, 27-28, 44  
 Bass, George, 61, 62-64, 73-74  
 Batman, John, 143-145  
 Baudin, 55, 78-79  
 Bent, Ellis and Jeffrey, 98  
 Bigge, Thomas, 101, 117  
 Bligh, William, 43-48  
 Botany Bay, 29-30  
 Bourke, Sir Richard, 145-146  
 Bouvet, 22  
 Bowen, John, 79; Sir George, 247  
 Brady, Matthew, 127  
 Brisbane, Sir Thomas, 102-105  
 Brouwer, Hendrick, 12  
 Browne, Governor, 244  
 Buckley, William, 146  
 Burke, Richard, 201  
 Bushranging, 86-88, 108-109, 124-125, 127-129, 183, 195-197  
 Cable communication with Australia, 199  
 Cabral, 5  
 Camels in Australia, 201, 202  
 Cameron, General, 245  
 Campbell, William, 75  
 Canberra, 217  
 Carteret, 22  
 Castle Hill Rising, the, 55-56  
 Chatham Island, 249  
 Chinese in Australia, 241  
 Coal-mining in Australia, 70, 103, 195, 242; in New Zealand, 248  
 Collins, David, 80-81  
 Columbus, 1, 5  
 Commonwealth, the Australian, 215  
 Compulsory military training in Australia, 219-220, 225  
 Conscription in Australia, 238-239; in New Zealand, 238, 250  
 Constitution of the Australian Federation, 214, 252  
 Constitutional Government in Australia, 104-107, 185-188  
 Convict labour, 50-54, 140, 181-185  
 Convicts in Tasmania, 131-134, 182  
 Cook, Captain, 23-25, 158  
 Copper in Australia, 195  
 Cortes, 6  
 Currency in New South Wales, 99-100  
 "Currency Lads," 94, 163  
 Dalmatians in New Zealand, 248  
 Dampier, William, 20-21  
 Darling, Governor, 52, 105-108  
 David, Professor, 232  
 Dawes, Lieutenant, 60  
 De Gonville, 4-5  
 De Quiros, 8-10  
 De Voutron, 21  
 De Witt, 14  
 Deakin, Alfred, 216  
 Delano, Amasa, 58, 79  
 Differences between Australians and New Zealanders, 251-254  
 Dodd, Henry, 32-33  
 Du Fresne, 26  
 Dunedin, foundation of, 175  
 Dutch, early discoveries by, in Australia, 8-19  
 East India Company, the, 76  
 Education in Australia, 100, 208  
 Emancipists, the, 93-97, 101  
 Emden-Sydney fight, 223  
 English, early explorations by, in Australia, 22-25  
 Escapes from captivity by convicts, 56-59, 124-127

Eureka Stockade, the, 193-194  
 Exploration of the interior of Australia, 60-67, 200-202  
 Eyre, E. J., 138-139, 200

Farming in Australia, early attempts at, 32, 37  
 Federal Council, the, 212  
 Field, Barron, 98-99  
 Fiji, 209, 213, 248, 250  
 Fitzroy, Governor, 172  
 "Flagstaff War," the, 172-173  
 Flinders, 3, 52, 62-64, 66  
 Forrest, Baron, 201  
 Foveaux, Lieut.-Col., 47, 55  
 Franklin, Sir John, 182  
 Free settlers, first, in Australia, 35-36  
 French, early explorations by, in Australia, 21-22, 30-31, 66, 77, 158; later visits to English settlements, 55, 114, 139, 167, 168  
 Freyberg, Lieut., 227  
 Furneaux, Tobias, 25, 158

Gallipoli Campaign, the, 225-232, 250  
 Gama, Vasco Da, 1-2  
 Gauge of railways in Australia, 200, 204  
 Germans in New Guinea, 210; in South Australia, 155, 170  
 Gipps, Governor, 179, 180-181  
 Gippsland, 147  
 Gladstone Colony, the, 183-184  
 Gold in New Guinea, 210; in New Zealand, 195, 247-248; in Queensland, 195; in Victoria, 189-193; in Western Australia, 195  
 Grant, Lieut. J., 65  
 Grey, Governor, 155, 173-176, 243-244, 246  
 Grose, Francis, 35-37  
 Guadalcanar, 7

Hartog, Dirk, 13  
 Hau-haus, 245-246, 247  
 Helles, Cape, operations at, 228  
 Henty, Edward, 142  
 Hongi, 164-165  
 Houtman, Cornelius, 11, 14  
 Hughes, W. M., 238  
 Hume and Hovell's expedition, 118-119  
 Hunter, Governor, 37-41  
 Iron industry in Australia, 242

Jacka, Captain, V.C., 229  
 Janszoon, Willem, 11-12  
 Japan, Australia's relations with, 239, 240-241, 253

Java, 3, 11  
*Java la Grande*, 4  
 Johnston, Major G., 46-47, 55-56  
 Jorgenson, Jorgen, 133  
 Justice, administration of, in New South Wales, 97-98

Kanakas, 203, 211, 216  
 Kangaroo Island, 150, 152  
 Kauri gum, 248  
 Kelly, Ned, 197  
 Kerguelen, 26  
 Kermadecs, 249  
 King, Governor, 31, 41-44, 55  
 "King" movement in New Zealand, 243-247  
 Kingi, 244  
 Kublai Khan, 3

Labour Party, the, in Australia, 205, 207-208, 215, 216, 220, 224, 238, 239; in New Zealand, 207

Land, sale of, in Australia, 103, 136-137, 143, 148-155, 178-181, 205; in New Zealand, 168-169, 172, 175-176

Language and literature in Australia and New Zealand, 252-253

Lanne, William, 130-131  
 Lapérouse, 30  
 Lawson, Henry, quoted, 226  
 League of Nations, 246, 249  
 Lecorre, Alexandre, 78  
 Lemon, Mark, 87  
 Light, Colonel, 152-153  
 Loyalists, American, in Australia, 49

Macarthur, John, 40, 42, 44-47, 54-55, 69-70  
 Macquarie, Governor, 89-101  
 Macquarie Island, 218  
 Magellan, Ferdinand, 1, 5-6  
 Malaspina, 10, 36, 159  
 Malays, early discoveries by, in Australia, 3, 115  
 Mandates in the Pacific, 240, 241, 249  
 Maoris, 17, 156-157, 158, 160, 161-162, 164-174  
 Marquesas Islands, 7, 77-78  
 Marsden, Samuel, 162  
 Masefield, John, quoted, 226, 227, 231  
 Matra, J. M., 28  
 McHugo, J. B., 87  
 McIlwraith, Sir Thomas, 210  
 Melbourne, foundation of, 146  
 Melville Island, 114-115  
 Mendana, Alvaro de, 7  
 Meneses, 6

Military training, compulsory, in Australia, 219-220, 225  
 Missionaries in New Zealand, 162-163, 164  
 Mitchell, Sir Thomas, 122-123  
 Moluccas, 6, 11  
 Monash, Sir John, 234, 235, 241  
 Morioris, 157  
 "Mosquito," 128  
 Munition-making in Australia, 225  
 Murray, John, 65  
 Murray River, Sturt's voyage down, 120-121  
 Mutinies by convicts, 51  
 Myall Creek massacre, 111  
 Navy, the Australian, 219, 222-224, 241  
 New Caledonia, 209  
 New Guinea, early exploration of, 3, 6, 8, 9, 11; later history of, 209, 210, 222  
 New Hebrides, 9, 209, 250  
 New South Wales, 29-31, 36, 43, 90-101, 105, 111, 119, 187-188, 202  
 New South Wales Corps, the, 35, 46, 48, 91  
 New Zealand, early exploration of, 17, 23; early history of settlements in, 156-176; later history of, 243-250; future prospects of, 253  
 New Zealand flax (*Phormium tenax*), 158, 161  
 Norfolk Island, 29, 31, 85-86, 107-108, 183, 185, 218  
 North Australia (projected colony), 184  
 North-West Australia, exploration of, 67  
 Northern Territory, 203, 217-218  
 Nuyts, Pieter, 14  
 Nuytsland, 22  
 "Overlanders," 147, 154  
 Overland Telegraph, 199  
 Oxley, Surveyor-General, 113, 117  
 Pacific Islands, Australia's relations with the, 209-211, 253; trade between Australia and the, 73  
 "Pakeha" Maoris, 161  
 Palestine Campaign, Australian troops in the, 237; New Zealand troops in the, 250  
 Papua, 210, 217  
 Parkes, Sir Henry, 213  
 Parramatta, 32-33  
 Pastoral industry in Australia, 177-178. *See also Wool*  
 Paterson, William, 37, 41, 47, 84, 91  
 Peel, Thomas, 136-137  
 "Pentonvillians," 183  
 Philippine Islands, 6, 7  
 Phillip, Governor, 29-35, 109  
 Pitcairn Island, 218  
 Pool, Gerrit, 15  
 Pope's Line, the, 5  
 Port Darwin, 203  
 Port Jackson, 30  
 Portuguese, discoveries by, in Australia, 4-6; in the East Indies, 5-6, 10  
 Potatau, 244  
 Press, freedom of the, 104-105; influence of the, 204  
 Puruy, J. F., 22  
 Queensland, 101, 113, 203  
 Railways in Australia, 200, 217, 219  
 Roads, making of, in Australia, 92  
 Robinson, G. A., 129-130  
 Ross Smith, 199, 253  
 "Rum Rebellion," the, 46-47  
 Ruse, James, 33  
 Saavedra, 6  
 Saint Alouarn, 26  
 Samoa, 249, 250  
 "Scottish Martyrs," the, 54  
 Sealing industry, the, 34, 67, 70-72, 135, 141, 150, 159-160  
 Solomon Islands, 7, 21, 250  
 South America, trade between Australia and, 73-76  
 South Australia, 115-116, 148-155, 188  
 Spaniards in the East Indies, 2, 5-6  
 Spanish discoveries in Australia, 6-9  
 Spirits, traffic in, 35, 40, 41-42, 44-45, 92  
 "Squatters," 178-179  
 Staten Land, 158  
 Steamships, 198-199  
 Stirling, Governor, 137-138  
 Strikes in Australia, 207  
 Stuart, J. McD., 200-201  
 Sturt, 150, 200-201  
 Suffrage in Australia, 206-207  
 Sugar-growing in Queensland, 211, 216  
 Suyla Bay, operations at, 229, 230  
 Swan River settlement, 114, 136-140, 149  
 Tahiti, 22, 23, 43  
 Tariffs in Australia, 187, 204, 239-240

Tasman, 15-19, 157  
 Tasmania, 16, 25, 79-88, 124-128,  
 188; aborigines of, 82-84  
 Te Kepa, 246, 247  
 Te Kooti, 247  
 Te Rauparaha, 165-166, 171, 174  
 Thierry, Baron de, 167  
 Thompson, Andrew, 95  
 Timber industry in Australia, 70  
 "Torrens title," 207  
 Torres, Luis de, 9  
 Transcontinental Railway, the, 139  
 Transportation, 27, 49-59, 90, 140,  
 181-185  
 Trucaninni, 130-131  
 "United Irishmen," the, 54  
 United States, early visits to Australia of ships from, 58, 72, 77,  
 114; trade between Australia and, 35, 76, 239; relations between Australia and, 241, 252-  
 253  
 Universities in Australia and New Zealand, 208  
 Vanconver, 158  
 Van Diemen, Antony, 15-19  
 Van Diemen's Land. *See* Tasmania  
 Victoria, 124, 141-147, 186-187,  
 188  
 Visscher, F. J., 15  
 Vlaming, Willem, 13, 19, 136  
 Wages Boards, 208  
 Wairan Massacre, 171  
 Waitangi, Treaty of, 167  
 Wakefield, E. G., 148-153, 168-169,  
 176  
 Wallis, Captain, 22  
 War, Anstralasia and the Great,  
 221-242  
 Welbe, Captain John, 21  
 Wellington, foundation of, 170  
 Wentworth, W. C., 94, 105, 168,  
 179, 187-188, 208, 212  
 Western Australia, 136-140, 188  
 Western Front, Australian and New Zealand troops on the, 232-237  
 Whaling industry, the, 34, 67, 71,  
 72-73, 134-135, 139, 141, 150, 163-  
 164, 177  
*Wolf* (German raider), 239  
 Wool industry in Australia, 43,  
 69, 117, 142, 155, 176, 177-178;  
 in New Zealand, 249  
 Young, Sir George, 28

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